

The Commons

Published by THE COMMONS Publishing Co. (not inc.)

SEPTEMBER, 1905

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer
Graham Romeyn Taylor } Assistant Editors

CONTENTS

With the Editor.....	483-488	From Social Settlement Centers.....	525
Shall the Pedigree of the Dollar Defeat its Destiny? "Peace Hath Her Victories" The Man and the Situation in New York Aftermath of Chicago's Teamsters' Strike		Books.....	527
Training for Social Workers.....	513	CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES	
Social Training Courses for the Year.....	517	Monopolies and Freedom of Con- tract.....	489
Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest.....	519	By Clarence Meily	
College Settlement Association....	524	The Toledo Newsboys' Association	493
		By Frank T. Carlton	
		The Exclusion of Asiatics.....	497
		By Walter Macarthur	
		The Homes of Working People....	502
		By Mrs. Ethelbert Stewart	
		The Los Angeles "Fellowship"....	507
		By Benjamin Fay Mills	

The Commons is a monthly magazine treating current events and promoting industrial justice, efficient philanthropy, educational freedom and the people's control of public utilities.

Price. The subscription price is One Dollar a year, payable in advance. Ten Cents a copy. Receipt of subscription is shown by the magazine being mailed.

Postage is Prepaid for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Canada and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add Twenty-five Cents for postage.

How to Remit. Remittances should be sent by draft on Chicago, express-order or money-order payable to the order of THE COMMONS. Stamps will be received for single subscriptions. Cash should be sent in registered letter.

Changes of Address. When a change of address is ordered, both the new and old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

Discontinuances. The magazine will be discontinued at the expiration of the time for which subscription has been made.

Special Numbers of The Commons. Any number under twenty-five copies, ten cents each; over twenty-five and under one hundred, eight cents each; over one hundred, seven cents each (by express).

Advertising Rates. Subject to change without notice. One page, \$10.00; Half page, \$5.50; quarter page, \$3; eighth page, \$2 for each insertion. Bills paid during current month less 5%.

Letters should be addressed to

The Commons.

180 Grand Avenue, CHICAGO, ILL.



Entered at the Chicago Postoffice as second-class matter.

It would be difficult to find anybody
nowadays who is not reading

Everybody's Magazine

The articles by Thomas W. Lawson,
of Boston, "Frenzied Finance," have in-
creased the circulation of the magazine
from 250,000 copies monthly to over
900,000 in a few months.

Everybody's Magazine is sold on all
news-stands unless sold out.

Please mention THE COMMONS when writing to advertisers.

The Commons

Number 9—Vol. X

Chicago, September, 1905

Tenth Year

With The Editor

Shall the Pedigree of the Dollar Defeat its Destiny?

How far and how long are personal qualities so inherent in property as to involve moral responsibility for its acquisition upon the part of those who would hold it in trust for public use?

This is the practical question for administrators of trust funds raised by the protest of Dr. Gladden and others against soliciting or accepting money from certain sources for public purposes.

To dramatize the general situation, personify a prevalent evil, and strike at a shining mark may be the most effective means of agitating and educating the moral sense of the community upon a crucial issue. But unless it results in determining a principle upon which some clear line of action can be taken the practical effect of the invaluable discussion will be largely lost.

To arrive at such a generally applicable principle, we here hold in abeyance any judgment upon the personality and policies involved in this particular controversy, in order the more squarely to face the moral issue with which administrators of trust funds are confronted. Let it be emphasized once for all that the protest none too sternly and strongly arraigns the methods of acquiring prop-

erty before the judgment bar of every conscience. But at this stage of the discussion some answer is demanded to the practical question, how shall administrators of trust funds arrive at a judgment that is tenable and can be consistently applied to recurring cases? Any attempt to discriminate between property and the personal qualities of its acquirer should take these things for granted: that money and man are inseparable in the making, but that as soon as property is acquired it becomes a fact and force in itself, it is therefore to be considered as separable from the person of its acquirer and possessor. In fine disdain we may say to the man, "Thy money perish with thee." But as a matter of fact it seldom does. It not only exists after he dies, but is a force in itself apart from him while he lives. And it continues to work on and on indefinitely, for good or ill, for the few or the many. So we are forced to recognize property itself to be power, endowed with capacity for self-perpetuation and increase. Whatever then may be the facts as to acquirer and donor, we cannot rightfully blink the other fact of the moral potentiality of property, whether it be in or out of his hands.

Another fact to be reckoned with is, that property legally held actually clears

itself of identification with the person or acts acquiring it by a single transfer or in one generation. Few, if any, for instance, would hesitate to accept or solicit from the hand of his conscientious and esteemed daughter the money of the man known and feared by the last generation as a wrecker, whose large fortune was gained from nothing he actually added to the wealth of the world, but only wrung from others by the remorseless wrecking of their property. This fact raises these questions: Are trustees of permanent institutions, who are intrusted with causes that serve the future, warranted in judging only the personal antecedents of accumulated resource? Have they no right to regard property as a social product, to the creation and accumulation of which many others besides its legal possessor have contributed? Are they not bound to look further than to what may just now be thought of its present owner? Do not the interests of the future with which they are intrusted demand that they anticipate the changed attitude which a day may bring forth toward the property applicable to public use? If it be argued that money unworthily acquired may not be solicited or accepted from its acquirer, does it not follow that it is not to be received at his bequest? Can it then neither be given or bequeathed by him for good purposes, but only for evil ends? Thus to create vested funds for perpetuating wrong by refusing to divert them toward the right, seems to be the very self-stultification of those who hold in trust any future good.

The precedent sought to be established by the protest against receiving money, "generally believed to have been made by methods morally reprehensible and socially injurious," would in all

consistency and justice require the investigation and judgment of each gift. If this is conceded to be impracticable, the income from certain ostracized sources would surely have to be designated, traced and distinguished from that produced by other unquestionable sources of gain. But everyone knows how indistinguishably the joint product identifies its constituent resources. This is the fact even in the case at issue. Moreover the pedigree of the penny, as well as the lineage of the dollar, would prove to be a very equivocal heritage from a very mixed ancestry if the income of every institution or person were subjected to a strict geneological test.

If it is the ultimate aim of the protest to rid the earth or at least the church of tainted money, then more effective than to reject every such cent would it be to line up the forces of righteousness against the conditions which make the acquisition of such wealth possible. But the belief in special privileges and the advantages taken of them, in such ways as the acceptance of rebates and the remission of taxes are too generally accepted as morally legitimate not only in commercial, but in ecclesiastical systems, to make any such line-up for a radical remedy probable. Those who would practically test the force of this assertion have need to found a new order of Brothers Minor, and accept the vow of poverty for their institutions and themselves, before taking any very aggressive stand for equality of opportunity. The respect due such as are willing to go perhaps a great deal too far in this direction in order to get the many to go half far enough, cannot be extended to others who carefully refuse the reward of one iniquity only carelessly to accept that of another.

If then at present it is possible neither consistently to discriminate between individual donors, nor to eradicate the inconsistency by any concerted effort that goes to the source of it to cut it out by the roots, are not administrators of public trust funds shut up to deciding whether the acceptance of money involves any preventable compromise with evil at their end of the line? If they are, then what better can those thus entrusted with the interests of posterity do than to put to good public use such property as can be accepted without expressly condoning any offense of acquisition, or without abjuring their right to condemn it?

Subtle may be the temptation to substitute courtesy for conscience, a sense of obligation to the donor for loyalty to moral principle and social justice. But manly men must learn themselves and teach others how to be loyal to the higher ideal while recognizing the fact that the existing status is contrary to it and is to be gradually, persistently and self-sacrificingly conformed thereto.

"Peace Hath Her Victories"

Japan reserved her greatest surprise of the world to the very last act of the great drama which she has been playing. It carries its own comment to know that the height of moral ideal, humanitarian motive and consciousness of social obligation to which her statesmen were capable of rising in making peace, seemed inconceivable to the diplomats of the older "world power." To the latter it seemed a great triumph not to have the victorious islanders haggle over their determination to pay "not a kopeck." But when the bluffing of the shrewd commercial spirit of Russia's impoverished exchequer has had its little day of triumph, Japan's

magnanimity in the hour of victory, her sparing blood at the expense of money, her chivalric regard for the sentiment of the nations into whose fellowship she has earned the right to enter, will glorify the advanced and exalted spirit shown by the youngest of the Great Powers.

Meanwhile Russia needs her Sergius Witte at home. His keener insight to internal conditions, his broader attitude toward popular demands, his real sympathy with the rising tide of the people's aspirations fit him to rescue the evolution of the national spirit from revolution. If the Czar's "Duma" can be broadened out of its shadowy "consultative" function into a legislative assembly, Witte, coming from the rescue of Russia's diplomatic prestige, from the humiliation of her naval and military defeat, may be the only man who can supercede the effete autocracy by a modern constitutional government.

The best of it all is that by "speaking softly" Mr. Roosevelt has made American influence and prestige stronger than any use of the "big stick" ever has or ever could. Nothing better could have come to him, to us or to the world than the success of his bold, brave, direct, persistent and insistent, mediative demand for peace. It has crowned American diplomacy with a moral grandeur which has been, not at the cost, but to the gain of its practical efficiency.

The Man and the Situation in New York

Mr. Jerome has cut the knot which has long tied up political reform in New York city too tight to be very often unraveled. Tammany has always had the inside track because every independent movement has thought it

necessary to fuse with the Republican party organization in order to have even a chance to succeed. This lined up most of the "unterrified Democracy" on the side of Tammany to be "agin the Republicans." But now, perhaps for the first time, there is a man and a situation which make possible and even hopeful a straight appeal to independent voters in all parties. At any rate with his customary fearlessness, Mr. Jerome has declared his wish to be re-elected, District Attorney of the County of New York, if he can be nominated by petition and elected independently of any party entanglements. While he has always declared himself to be a Democrat in national politics, and is everywhere recognized to belong to the party, he wisely and firmly contends that a man who holds the office of District Attorney should be nominated and elected by the people irrespective of any party organization, much more of any faction or boss.

During his whole term of office he has been preparing the way for such a declaration of independence and gotten many of the people ready to understand a position so unprecedented in New York politics. For, he has not only made the whole city understand that the full power of his office is at the command of every one who needs justice done him, without any other "pull" or "infloence" whatever, but he chose to live in one of the most densely populated east side tenement districts where he could be found at any time out of office hours by everyone who wanted to see him. Moreover, the absolutely fearless and impartial way in which he has administered justice has won the confidence of all and the gratitude of every class, except those who want to break the law or to abuse others with it.

The principle for which Mr. Jerome thus stands is so vitally important that even the nomination for mayor which the Citizens' Union would thrust upon him, does not tempt him to abandon his independent candidacy for the district attorneyship. He is independent enough to stand or fall with the success or failure of this principle in the coming election. If it fails to carry, he will have the great satisfaction of having set a precedent which is sure to be followed and to win out in the future. If it succeeds he will lead to victory the policy of wielding the balance of power by the hand of independent voters in all parties. In this only is the promise and potency of ever emancipating New York city from the domination of the boss and party misrule. All success to Mr. Jerome and his brave effort. May he lead even a forlorn hope to victory.

Aftermath of the Chicago Teamsters' Strike

Chicago's most disastrous strike is ended, but the end of it is not yet. It ended as ingloriously as it began and continued throughout, with no gain and all loss to every interest involved. Great has been the financial loss suffered without cause by many merchants and almost all lines of business. But far greater is the injury inflicted upon the whole cause of organized labor. It never stood higher everywhere than just after the anthracite coal strike was honorably settled. It has never been dragged lower in Chicago than by the long drawn-out conspiracy of teamsters' union officials with the agent of a few employers, who at last stands self-confessed, but unpunished, a professional briber, hired to reduce the venal corruption of a few

labor leaders to a commercial system. To have publicly exposed the existence of this conspiracy and unmasked its principal conspirators has been no small gain to all who have suffered from its infamous blackmail. Employers claim to have won release from the tyranny and injustice to which the "closed shop" tactics have undoubtedly been carried against some of them. Even if it be only a temporary relief, as may prove to be the case, it was worth the struggle to many of them.

The teamsters have won nothing but shame. Their leader and some of his colleagues proved themselves personally to be shameless libertines, who transferred the headquarters of the strike to a notoriously disreputable house, whose courtesans gave evidence of their reckless profligacy. They are officially responsible for calling the strike both without a grievance, and, contrary to the constitution of the union, without the vote of its membership. They are indicted for conspiracy and for violent breach of the peace. They are under the gravest suspicion of receiving and extorting money from employers and misappropriating union funds. And yet the rank and file of the teamsters were either too indifferent or too weak to defeat the re-election of the criminal betrayers of their trust to the leadership of their union. The return of Cornelius P. Shea to the Presidency of their international organization, after the exposure of his shameless record, is a deserved disgrace and most serious injury to their unions, which cannot fail to put the public on guard against them, and ought to arouse a revolt in their membership against such an administration of their affairs.

But the worst woes of the strike are

being suffered by the Chicago Federation of Labor. Its reputable President weakly allowed himself and the Federation to be used without protest to the very limit of decency by the teamsters' buccaneers. When he would go no further it gave the signal for the corrupt and violent element of the Federation to rise from the overthrow they suffered after the Building Trades' lock-out five years ago. The desperate attempt of this bold minority to wrest control from the unsuspecting majority resulted in the outrageous hold-up of the election and its officials at the point of revolvers, and the deadly assault upon Michael Donnelly for bravely withstanding it. Even then if the President of the Federation could have had the courage of his convictions he might have at least brought thuggery to a summary end, and retained the unbroken power of his administration through another term. But he, and the other election officials refused to identify the thugs arrested by the police for the assault upon them, because they feared their lives would be worth nothing if they dared to do so. Only Michael Donnelly is man enough to offer all the help he can give to identify and convict the ruffians. But he, unfortunately, was felled unconscious before he even saw his assailants. A high police official declares, if the reward of \$500 offered by a public-spirited citizen for the punishment of each of them were increased to \$5,000, it could not overcome the fear of these intimidated officials. As long as that terrorism holds the Chicago Federation of Labor in such abject subjection, it can command the respect of neither the community nor its own constituency.

There are, however, pitifully belated signs of the assertion of manliness in

the ranks of labor. The unions are beginning to declare themselves. The Building Trades' Council has formally repudiated the tactics of thuggery as the crime of the real enemies of organized labor. The Union Label Advocate deplores the lack of firmer police repression at the beginning, which it is declared the strike could not have withstood ten days. The Chicago Federation of Labor has begun to purge itself of contempt. The attempt of the rowdy elements to capture its organization has been decisively defeated by an overwhelming majority in the election which they tried to wreck. In time the worthy majorities will rise supreme and cast out those who have brought reproach upon their great cause. But it is already too late to save the loss of hard and deservedly earned prestige. Nothing remains for these sadder, but wiser, men, except to make surer than ever that the foundations of their organization are laid on the old-fashioned bedrock of truth and justice, and that their officers truly represent the integrity and intelligence of the rank and file.

Worst of all, the community is threatened with a loss of the moral effects of this disastrous struggle from which it has suffered so much. For, the disclosures and penalties that would make a recurrence of this intolerable injustice impossible do not bid fair to be forthcoming. The grand jury indictments fell far short of going to the bottom of the situation and of eradicating the most constant and corrupt source of the city's worst industrial troubles. Nothing could be more demoralizing than the temporary success of the armed raid upon the labor hall without having an indictment or even an identification follow, unless it be the

long confessed paying of blackmail by merchants for immunity from strikes by bribery, without legal prosecutions of blackmailers or bribers.

The strike is over. The indictments based upon it are all docketed for the terms of court about to open. But an epidemic of crime such as Chicago has never seen is now, in part at least, the aftermath of the immunity from penalty thus far enjoyed by those guilty of the most serious offenses. Convictions, prominent and emphatic enough to be deterrents, will have to be secured very soon, to offset the baleful influence of the long list of arrests and the longer record of conspiracies, deadly assaults and murders which have either not yet come to trial or been indicted. This immunity is by no means due in largest part to the failure of the police or the prosecuting attorneys. Both sets of these officials have just cause for their bitter complaints that their most earnest and successful efforts to arrest and indict have been thwarted by the absolute refusal of reputable men on both sides of the struggle to furnish evidence in their possession necessary for the indictment of some and the identification of others against whom there was sufficient suspicion for grand jury reports and police arrests. Nothing short of a tremendous revival of loyalty to law upon the part of all classes of citizens will rescue any salvage from what THE COMMONS has none too strongly, all along, denounced as "a wrecker's strike." Still in the midst of the wreckage, we are sorry to be unable to report any very promising signs of this better aftermath, which, nevertheless, is sure to follow this last, or some worse, warning.

Monopolies and Freedom of Contract

By Clarence Meily

The antithesis suggested in the title of this article covers a period of a hundred years, and bridges the gap, if an antithesis can be said to bridge a gap, which Time has infallibly dug between theory and fact. From the ruck and debris of a demolished feudalism, in the destruction of which individual liberty was at once the engine and the goal, to the startling fruits of a century of economic license confronting the citizen today, stretches a period of social experiment of which it is not too much to say that it has proved disappointing. Our forefathers dreamed the dream of liberty, equality and fraternity. To-day, in retrospect, we see that they stood on the threshold not so much of an era of fraternity as of industrial cannibalism; that their trusted equality before the law has become a solecism in the face of an unprecedented inequality in fact, and that the liberty which they asserted has dwindled to a somewhat theoretical freedom of speech and of the press. The formal guaranties of liberty remain, but its substance has become curiously vague.

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT UNANIMOUSLY PART OF LIBERTY.

In framing the definition of liberty necessary to give it concrete expression, the courts have unanimously included the freedom of contract—that is, the right to make and enforce such contracts as the parties please which are not criminal in their purport or injurious to society. "Contracts and compacts," says the Supreme Court of Ohio (*Palmer & Crawford v. Tingle*, 55 Ohio 423), "have been entered into between men, tribes and nations during all time from the earliest dawn of history, and the right and liberty of contract is one of the inalienable rights of man, fully secured and protected by our constitution, and it may be restrained only in so far as it is necessary for the common welfare and the equal protection and

benefit of the people." So the Supreme Court of Tennessee (*Harbison v. Knoxville Iron Co.*, 103 Tenn. 421) declares that "the term 'liberty' * * * means not only the right of freedom from servitude, imprisonment or physical restraint, but also * * * to make all proper contracts * * * and to enjoy the legitimate fruits thereof." And again (*State v. Schlitz Brewing Co.*, 104 Tenn. 715): "The right of contract is confessedly an inherent part of both the right of 'liberty' and the right of 'property.'" Indeed, our present society has been forcibly contrasted with the feudalism which it supplanted, as substituting between men relations of contract for those of caste. From the threads of these new contractual relations the fabric of individual freedom was to be woven; and the purpose of the constitutional guaranty of liberty was to permit the weaving to proceed without governmental direction, as private ingenuity contrives or necessity ordains.

UNLIMITED BARGAINING.

Secured thus against state interference, the American people were set to work out at least a temporal salvation by the facile method of unlimited bargaining. The case was hopeful enough. An unclaimed continent of immeasurable wealth lay before them. A tolerable equality of condition prevailed amongst them in the general but not unwholesome poverty belonging to a primitive community. They were strong in the faith of a new civic idealism and of the individualistic categories of *bourgeois* society. For more than a hundred years they have traded with unflagging zeal and consuming energy; they have produced wealth in unheard-of volume, and have expanded to the limit of material possibility; they have followed the gospel of commercialism with a guileless and unquestioning loyalty, and they have realized, if not temporal salvation, at least, the Trust!

THE TRUST.

The Trust is, in a way, the consequence of freedom of contract coupled with an extension of the right of private property to the resources and laws of nature, which in this manner become vendible commodities. Free to contract, striving always to get the better of the bargain, and with each gainful transaction becoming a vantage ground insuring further success, it would be almost susceptible of mathematical demonstration that in the course of time a select few should come to possess the entire subject-matter of trade, and when this subject-matter includes the means of production, that a select few should come in time to possess them. When the means of production are in the hands of a few, monopoly is established on a highly satisfactory and enduring basis. It does not seriously affect this conclusion that monopoly has aided itself by illegitimate means. Means that are illegitimate have been made so only through a curtailment of the privilege of the individual to do what he pleases. The railroad rebates which just now are regarded as having fostered monopoly in a peculiar degree are themselves but assertions of freedom of contract in defiance of the public weal; the public weal in this instance having demanded a pro tanto invasion of an inalienable right of man. Individual liberty, translated in the field of economics into individual license, has borne its fruit; such fruit as the proponents of the theory never imagined.

POLICE POWER INTERFERENCE.

When it becomes imperative for the judiciary to forcibly intervene to save us from the constitution which we have ordained and established, it is done in the name of the police power. The police power of the state is the excuse which necessity makes to established formulas. From the nature of the case it is not easily defined, since it cannot be foretold in what instance intervention will next become imperative.

In his valuable work on the *Police Power*, Prof. Freund of the Chicago University says (Section 15): "Broadly speaking, there are therefore three

spheres of activities, conditions and interests which are to be considered with reference to the police power; a conceded sphere affecting safety, order and morals, covered by an ever-increasing amount of restrictive legislation; a debatable sphere, that of the proper production and distribution of wealth, in which such legislation is still in an experimental stage; and an exempt sphere, that of moral, intellectual and political movements, in which our constitutions proclaim the principle of individual liberty." It is in this "debatable sphere" of the production and distribution of wealth that freedom of contract has hitherto had practically unlimited operation, and it is into this "debatable sphere" that the police power must enter if freedom of contract is to be curbed in an effort to check monopolistic tendencies within the existing forms of society.

In this same work Professor Freund, in referring to legislation requiring the payment of wages in cash, as violating the principle of freedom of contract, says (Section 321): "If we do recognize the legitimacy of the exercise of the police power for the prevention of oppression, this legislation, especially store order acts, sanctioned by the practice of most civilized countries, is within the province of governmental power. There is undoubtedly an interference with the liberty of contract, but the question is whether such interference does not serve a reasonable object; to set up liberty of contract as an absolute right is to deny the police power almost altogether." Further, he says (Section 500): "A constitutional right of freedom of contract has been most strongly asserted, and has received some recognition on the part of the courts, in connection with protective labor legislation. While it is conceded that contracts may be forbidden which in their effects tend to injure or demoralize the public at large (gambling contracts, the sale of liquor, etc.,) it is insisted that where the restraint is for the benefit of one party of the contract, it is illegitimate, since the fact of agreement shows that the party to be protected freely

consents to the supposed injury, and that the state has no business to force a benefit upon him against his will. * * * However, even if the restraint is looked upon as protecting the party to the contract from his own acts, and not from the acts of others, it is maintainable, as long as the prevention of oppression is recognized as one of the legitimate grounds for the exercise of the police power. Economic oppression regularly proceeds with the apparent consent of the oppressed whose weakness compels him to accede to onerous terms, and such oppression cannot be dealt with otherwise than by restraining the freedom of contract. To emphasize this freedom in the face of oppression, is to deny the legitimacy of the police power for the protection of economic liberty; whatever may be the theoretical strength of this position, it does not constitute a principle of constitutional law."

THE "CONSENT" OF THE WEAK.

Certain phrases in this last quotation deserve special attention. "*Economic oppression regularly proceeds with the apparent consent of the oppressed whose weakness compels him to accede to onerous terms.*" How profoundly true this is must be felt by all who have had dealings with a monopoly of a necessity of life, such, for example, as the Beef Trust. Apparently the customer voluntarily buys beef at an exorbitant rate; actually he does so under a compulsion none the less rigorous that it is disguised. Freedom of contract exists only when the alternative of not contracting is open to both parties. A contract which one is forced to make on terms prescribed for him is not free. But the very essence and purpose of a monopoly is to prescribe terms. And when the monopolized commodity is a necessity, these terms become inescapable since the alternative of not contracting is not open to the customer. He must contract or suffer physical privation. The monopoly's "freedom of contract" thus expands into a freedom to dictate the terms of contract, and involves and implies a

negation of the customer's freedom to be heard concerning them. Security against governmental restraint has become the opportunity for the creation of a private and mercenary restraint. The monopoly's "liberty" is the customer's oppression. "*And such oppression cannot be dealt with otherwise than by restraining the freedom of contract,*" or, to paraphrase our author, the customer's liberty of contract cannot be restored except by invading the asserted freedom of the monopoly to compel customers to pay what it pleases; hence, "*to emphasize this freedom in the face of oppression, is to deny the legitimacy of the police power for the protection of economic liberty.*"

POLICE POWER TO FIX PRICES?

In the name and under the sanction of the police power, therefore, is it not possible for the state to invade the freedom of contract claimed by a monopoly in order to restore to the public the economic liberty of which, under constitutional forms, the monopoly has robbed it? This query gains practical importance from certain recently attempted legislation in some Western States which have become involved in a struggle with the Standard Oil Company. The program of resistance contemplates the establishment of state oil refineries to compete with those of the monopoly, and to prevent "predatory competition" by the Trust it is provided that the minimum price at which it sells refined oil at any one point in the State shall become the maximum price for all other points within the State. In other words, if the monopoly cuts prices at any one point it must do so at all. A more drastic interference with the Trust's liberty of contract could hardly be imagined, for this practically fixes by law a maximum price at which the Trust product shall be sold. Evidently this legislation can be sustained only as an exercise of the police power to prevent economic oppression.

But if it is so sustained, the consequences of the ruling must be far reaching indeed. In the power to fix prices lies the very essence and goal of monop-

oly. If the public, in the exercise of the police power, can take over the right to fix the selling price of monopolized commodities, it can at a stroke, if not terminate, at least regulate and define the limits of its exploitation. It can in great measure rob monopoly of its terror for the consumer. And while the era of competitive service is gone forever, the most disquieting outgrowth of that period of unbridled license may in some degree be pruned and checked. Fixing by law the selling price of a monopolized commodity is also the essential purport of the proposal to vest in the Interstate Commerce Commission the authority to fix railroad rates, the general governmental power to do which has long been conceded to public necessity.

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE.

On the other hand, if the attempt to prescribe by legislation the sale price of monopoly-goods is judicially prevented on the ground that a monopoly may shelter itself behind the constitutional guaranty of freedom of contract, there remains the still more drastic remedy of withdrawing the means of production from private-monopoly ownership. This as yet is merely a threat, but one which is enforced by other interests than those of the consumer, to say nothing of the general argument that the means of production are in their nature the common heritage of all men and are not morally susceptible of private ownership.

"RIGHTS," POLITICAL, NOT ECONOMIC.

On the whole, whatever course future events may dictate it is not even now premature to recognize that the narrow principles of individual liberty on which our civil polity was founded have grown inadequate for the solution of the problems to which Time and change have given birth. Essentially negative in their character, being merely denials of the propriety of feudal restraints, they cannot and do not constitute the

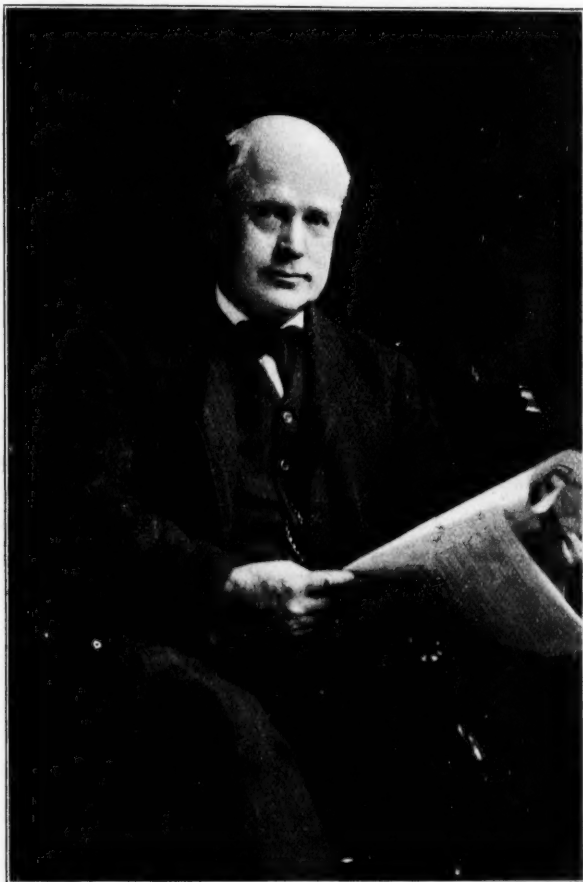
criteria of modern rights. The scene of struggle between the privileged few and the unprivileged many has shifted from the political to the economic field, and the liberty conquered in the one remains to be assured by establishment on an economic foundation in the other. For this purpose not only do new principles of primary justice require enunciation, but recognized principles, when subverted to the purpose of bulwarks of oppression, may require modification or even abandonment. In short, the "rights of man," in the faith of which our American government was established, are now seen to be neither fundamental nor final, being merely of a political and not of an economic character. It was a perception of this inadequacy which caused Carlyle, in his dramatic picturing of the futile labors of the French Constituent Assembly, to write: "With endless debating, we get the *Rights of Man* written down and promulgated: true paper basis of all paper constitutions. Neglecting, cry the opponents, to declare the Deities of Man! Forgetting, answer we, to ascertain the *Mights of Man*:—one of the fatalest of omissions! * * * Fancy, then, some Five full-grown millions of such giant figures, with their haggard faces; in woolen jupes, with copper-studded leather girdles, and high sabots, —starting up to ask, as in forest roarings, their washed Upper-classes, after long unreviewed centuries, virtually this question: How have ye treated us; how have ye taught us, fed us, and led us, while we toiled for you? The answer can be read in flames, over the nightly summer sky. *This* is the feeding and leading we have had of you: EMPTINESS,—of pocket, of stomach, of head, and of heart. Behold there is *nothing in us*; nothing but what nature gives her wild children of the desert: Ferocity and Appetite. Strength Grounded on Hunger. Did ye mark among your Rights of Man, that man was not to die of starvation, while there was bread reaped by him? It is among the *Mights of Man*."

The Toledo Newsboys' Association

By Frank T. Carlton

The boy problem is one of the most important and most difficult problems of the present. Crowded cities and specialized industrial work have deprived the boy of opportunities for healthful

to existence or the needs of the boy—the man of the next generation. The newsboy is the peculiar product of the modern city; with him environment and association have usually done their



JOHN E. GUNCKEL

play and wholesome occupation. The street and the alley have become his playground and his lounging place; the pool-room, the cigar-store and the saloon are open to receive him. Our cities have developed without reference

worst. If he succeeds, if he grows into a useful man, it is in spite of discouraging obstacles. The typical newsboy is poor, ragged, dirty and, frequently, homeless or worse than homeless. This future citizen is daily and hourly in inti-

mate contact with all classes and kinds of people; he is constantly assailed on all sides by physical and moral dangers and temptations; he is exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to the abuse of the man in the street. The problem of developing the newsboy—the street urchin—into a law-abiding and efficient citizen of a great city is not an easy one; it is one of the most perplexing and bewildering cases in the great world-wide boy problem which parents, educators and municipal authorities are facing.

JOHN E. GUNCKEL.

In Toledo, Ohio, lives a plain, unpretentious man who has indeed made a real, practical contribution to the study of boys. Mr. John E. Gunckel, local passenger agent for the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railroad, has devoted much of his time and energy for more than a score of years to the noble work of uplifting the newsboys of Toledo. Mr. Gunckel is a practical man, not a theorist; he is a doer, not a dreamer. He is probably not versed in child study as it is carried on in our universities; but he does understand the peculiar nature of the genus boy as well, if not better, than any other living American. He has found the key to the heart of the boy, and every newsboy on the streets of Toledo loves and respects him. The people of that prosperous Ohio city take off their hats to Mr. Gunckel; they are proud, and justly so, of him. His work is purely a work of love, and has been done without ostentation or display of any kind.

THEN THE TOLEDO NEWSBOYS' ASSOCIATION.

For several years this man carried out his plan single-handed, using funds which he obtained by writing "fish stories" and other short sketches for newspapers and magazines. But finally the work became too extensive and burdensome, and other citizens were enlisted in the cause. On November 25, 1892, the Toledo Newsboys' Association was formally organized with one hundred and two charter members. This Association, which is now incorpo-

rated under the laws of the State as a corporation "not for profit," boasted on June 1, 1905, of 3,289 members. The active membership now contains both "carriers" and "sellers." Five hundred and forty-eight of the above are "graduates," who are now working at some other occupation. A considerable portion of the graduates obtained positions through the efforts of Mr. Gunckel, who practically manages a small employment bureau. Any newsboy who wishes a job reports the fact to him, and, on the other hand, business men frequently ask him to recommend young men for positions.

The management of the Association nominally devolves upon fifteen Trustees, who are well-known business and professional men of Toledo. Mr. Gunckel is the President and is practically given a "free hand" in the direction of the affairs of the Association. In order to facilitate supervision, the city is divided into six "territories" or districts, in each of which are eleven newsboy officers. These officers are responsible to the President for the management of affairs in their respective districts. The chairman of the officers in each district is appointed by the President; the remaining ten officers are chosen by the boys themselves. The following quotation, which appears as the introduction of a printed pamphlet containing the constitution of the Association, presents in a concise manner the aims and the ideals which have animated the long and patient endeavors of this student of the American boy:

"The work of the Toledo Newsboys' Association is limited largely to the boys of the street, commonly known as newsboys and bootblacks. The effort is made to teach self-government and brotherhood; to encourage industry, thrift and rational economy; to assist and encourage the needy and unfortunate; to promote honest methods in all business dealings; to establish harmonious relations between each other; to familiarize them with the little courtesies which make for true manhood, and to teach them in boyhood, while character is forming, their duty to them-

selves and to society, and thus develop in each the character and spirit of good and progressive citizenship."

All boys who are actually selling or carrying papers or periodicals or shining shoes are eligible to active membership. No dues are required, and no assessments are made upon active membership. Every boy when admitted to membership in the Association is given a numbered card, which reads as follows: "This is to certify that [name of the boy] is a life member of The Toledo Newsboys' Association. He does not approve of Swearing, Lying, Stealing, Gambling, Drinking Intoxicating Liquors or Smoking Cigarettes, and is entitled to all benefits of said membership, and the respect and esteem of the public." This card is signed by the President and Secretary of the Association. A numbered badge is also given the boy. This badge is always worn while he is selling papers.

THE MORAL EFFECT.

And the important fact is that stealing, swearing and cigarette smoking have almost entirely been eliminated among the Toledo newsboys. Chief of Police Knapp is enthusiastic in his commendation of Mr. Gunckel's work. Very rarely is a newsboy arrested or brought into the juvenile court. There is a high code of honor and an intense feeling of loyalty for the Association among these street boys. If one of their number is caught swearing, he is immediately surrounded by a group of his fellow merchants and expostulated with in no mild manner. The culprit is told that he is disgracing the Association, and is emphatically informed that he must "cut it out" or lose his badge. The secret of Mr. Gunckel's success lies, in no small measure, in the fact that he has ever tried to place the responsibility for good behavior upon the boys themselves; it is his aim to cause each and every member of the Association to feel that he is individually interested in and affected by the ill-behavior of any other member. Each boy feels that it is "up to him" to preserve the honor and

dignity of his Association, of which he is an integral part. In this manner, the Association gives valuable training in self-reliance and in civic responsibility; it teaches concretely, impressively and effectively that each boy is indeed "his brother's keeper." Such training lays the true and solid foundation of good citizenship. Herein also is the value of school cities and George Junior Republics. Civic corruption and graft develop as the direct and logical result of the absence of a feeling of personal interest or responsibility on the part of the mass of citizens. Awaken an active and permanent interest in good government in the mass of citizens, and the battle is half won.

PUNISHMENT.

In an aggravated case, the erring boy is brought before President Gunckel and his case is considered; sometimes his badge is temporarily taken from him. This is a severe penalty and is keenly felt by the boy. Without much exaggeration it may be said that he feels very much as does the army officer when stripped of his shoulder straps. In most cases, however, an earnest appeal from Mr. Gunckel will cause the boy to promise to try to do better; then Mr. Gunckel turns to his officers and tells them that they must see that this boy is "kept straight." The boy who loses or is in danger of losing his badge is confronted by that greatest of all disciplinary agencies, the disapproval of his equals and associates.

"LOST AND FOUND" AGENTS.

When I visited Mr. Gunckel's office, three packages lay on his desk. These had been found by newsboys that morning and turned in to him as President of the Association. One package contained books, another a pair of gloves and a third an apron. Recently a small roll of bills was brought in by one of the boys. It is a common occurrence for some one to telephone to Mr. Gunckel, asking if the newsboys have found some article which has been lost. Their reputation for honesty has spread

beyond the limits of Toledo. Not long ago Mr. Gunkel received the following from a man residing in Lima, Ohio: "I lost on the streets of your city a pocketbook containing a ten-dollar bill and four one-dollar bills and a pass of an electric line. If a newsboy finds it, give him the ten and send me the pass." A roll of honor is published from time to time, giving the names of newsboys who have brought in "lost" articles; in addition to this, Mr. Gunkel usually gives each boy a small pecuniary reward.

THE SOCIAL SIDE.

The intellectual and social side of the work is not neglected. During the winter season meetings are held every Sunday afternoon. These gatherings are well attended and are enjoyed by the boys. At first addresses were given, usually by teachers, ministers or business men; but more recently the tendency has been to gradually turn over the meetings into the hands of the boys themselves. A newsboys' band has been organized to furnish music. This band took part in President Roosevelt's inauguration. The boys give recitations and short plays at the meetings, and a drill corps has been organized. The earlier method was not uniformly successful. Boys are not easily appealed to by mere words; they desire, hunger for action. On one particular occasion a minister was invited to entertain the boys. He responded by reading three chapters from the Bible. Such an utter misconception of boy nature and of boys' needs is at the root of many failures to help the youth of our land. Only Mr. Gunkel's broad view of the problem has enabled this Association to steer clear of rocks upon which many other kindred organizations have been wrecked. The latter method of conducting these weekly meetings has been very successful. Action, not repression, is what a boy needs. Chief Knapp states that all progressive chiefs of police are very tolerant of boyish activities, and will hesitate before interfering, for example, with a ball game on a vacant lot or in the street. As long as

a boy is active, on the move, he is safe. Lack of opportunity to play and to work is at the bottom of a very large percentage of juvenile crime, which is, in fact, only misdirected and misapplied energy.

Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver, Colorado, well-known because of his work in connection with the movement for juvenile courts, recently wrote a letter to Mr. Gunkel about the work of the Newsboys' Association of Denver. After commending the latter for the work done in Toledo, Judge Lindsey said: "For two years we have not had a serious case of stealing among the newsboys, while we have had some very serious ones among the children of average good citizens. And strange as it may seem, the boys who attend Sunday-school regularly, have money to spend and seemingly good home influences have been among the guilty ones. We endeavor to cultivate individuality among the newsboys, teaching each one his responsibility as a good little citizen. They did more to enforce the laws last year for the protection of the children than the police have in ten years." The experience of Mr. Gunkel and of Chief Knapp in Toledo has led them to similar conclusions. The "carriers" who chiefly come from good homes and home environment were admitted to membership in the Association because it was clearly recognized that they were in need of the beneficent influence of this organization. As a matter of fact this class of boys is hard to appeal to and to bring under the influence of the Association.

FOR A NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

An attempt is now being made to form a national association of newsboys. In August a national board of trustees will meet in Toledo to complete the details of such an organization. In this way it is expected that the experience and influence of the pioneer newsboys' organization will be felt over a much wider field, and that in the near future every city of the United States will be blessed with an association for the betterment of the newsboys.

The Exclusion of Asiatics

The Political, Economic and Racial Problems of the Mongolian Emigrant to our Western States

By Walter Macarthur

Editor Coast Seamen's Journal

EDITOR'S NOTE: Whether the Jap and Korean, like the Chinaman, must stay from our coasts is a question seriously aggravated by the recent great advances in immigration from those Mongolian countries. While the California State Federation of Labor and other influential labor and industrial bodies in the far west are vigorously and bitterly agitating for a classification of all Mongols with the Chinese for common exclusion from this country, in other quarters the new question raised has had the effect of reopening, at least to newspaper controversy, "the settled" question of Chinese immigration.

President Roosevelt's recent executive order to the immigration officers, which has been considered to have relaxed the rigors of our exclusion laws, and the threatened or real Chinese "retaliation" and boycott on American manufacturers also add greater interest and timeliness to this clear statement of the impossibility of the Mongol in America as seen by Walter Macarthur, Editor of the *Coast Seaman's Journal*, who presented these intelligent labor views to the Iroquois club of San Francisco.

When the Chinese Exclusion Act was re-enacted in May, 1902, public opinion in the United States regarded the issue as settled. Some doubt was then expressed by those experienced in the practical workings of previous legislation on the subject as to the efficiency of the latest enactment, which expressions have been but too well justified by subsequent events. Generally speaking, however, the Act of 1902 was regarded as establishing Exclusion as a settled policy of our Government.

Undoubtedly the people of the United States had a right to so regard the situation. For many years, dating back to the early history of the Pacific Coast, the menace of Chinese immigration had been fully recognized. Agitation on the subject was rife in every home; everywhere, in public and private, the question of how best to meet and overcome the growing danger to the very existence of the American people in these parts overshadowed all other questions. Upon that issue political parties were made and unmade. Public sentiment became acute and culminated not infrequently in riot and bloodshed.

The negotiation of the Burlingame Treaty, in 1868, under which the United States and China recognized the "mutual advantage of free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from one coun-

try to the other, for the purpose of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents," aggravated the already high temper of the people. Accordingly, the Burlingame Treaty was supplemented, in 1880, by a provision that the United States might "regulate, limit, or temporarily suspend, but not prohibit" the immigration provided for by the treaty of 1868.

THE EXCLUSION ACT.

Two years later, in 1882, Congress enacted a statute, providing that "the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby suspended." After a further experience of two years the latter statute was amended with a view to a more stringent exclusion of Chinese. These measures proving ineffective, Congress, in 1888, enacted two laws establishing, in purport, a policy of total exclusion.

On May 5, 1892, the Geary Act was passed. That Act extended all Exclusion laws then in force for a period of ten years. The effect of the Geary Act during the subsequent decade was seen in a marked decrease of Chinese in California and other States. In this State alone, notwithstanding the constant and notorious violations of the law, the Chinese population decreased from 75,000 to 45,600 during the first eight years of the Geary Act. This diminution of

numbers was accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the public attitude toward the Chinese. In 1894 the United States and China entered into a ten-year treaty under which the exclusion of Chinese laborers was formally recognized and agreed to by the latter, thus completing the establishment of the Exclusion policy.

RE-ENACTION.

On November 21, 1901, a great meeting was held in Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco. The meeting was called by resolution of the Board of Supervisors for the purpose of memorializing Congress to re-enact the Geary Act, then about to expire by limitation. Present at that meeting were representatives of the public and quasi-public bodies, labor, fraternal and civic organizations, United States Senators and Representatives. After much discussion and a thorough review of the conditions regarding Chinese immigration, a memorial was adopted, urging upon Congress the desirability and necessity of continuing in full force the then-existing Exclusion law, with such additional safeguards as experience had shown to be necessary to effect the purpose of that legislation. A commission of representative citizens was named by the Chinese Exclusion Convention, and delegated with the duty of further presenting the views of the State to the members of Congress. As a result of that and other steps, the Chinese Exclusion law was re-enacted in 1902, in the form now existing.

As already stated, the people of the United States have since regarded the issue of Chinese Exclusion as settled, so far as this country is concerned. Despite the failure of the effort to make the terms of the Exclusion Act so clear and comprehensive as to make evasion impossible, and despite the well-considered opinion of many high authorities that the Exclusion Act, as finally passed, contained a number of serious defects, the re-enactment of the law in face of the assaults made upon it and the strenuous efforts of its opponents to discredit the entire principle

involved, was generally regarded, and necessarily so, as settling for all time the question of Exclusion as a feature of national policy.

JAPANESE TO GO?

Proceeding upon the assumption that the question of Chinese immigration was a closed incident, the people of the Pacific Coast have during recent years turned their attention more immediately to another question, similar in essence, but even more portentous in detail, namely, the question of Japanese immigration. The evils, actual and potential, of Japanese immigration have been apparent for many years. Indeed, so pressing had this species of Mongolian immigration become that the Chinese Exclusion Convention, previously referred to, formally declared in favor of action in the matter. Since that time public attention has been more and more concentrated upon the need of applying the present Exclusion laws to Japanese and Korean immigrants. Practically every labor organization in California has adopted resolutions to that effect. The American Federation of Labor, in two annual conventions, has indorsed the demand of organized labor and the public of the West. The Legislature of California has declared for Japanese exclusion. The press of the State has quite generally voiced the public sentiment thus expressed. Finally, public opinion has recently been crystallized in the Japanese and Korean Exclusion Leagues, formed in San Francisco and other cities of the State.

REACTIONARY DISCUSSION.

Amid these preparations for further protection from coolie labor, undertaken with reasonable assurance that the Chinese phase of the problem has been definitely disposed of, we find ourselves arrested by a reactionary movement to re-open the entire subject of Exclusion.

The recent address of Secretary of War Taft, at Miami University, in which the Chinese Exclusion Act was criticised in principle and detail, was

commonly regarded as intimating the intention of the Executive authorities to modify the operation of that Act in deference to the wishes of its opponents. The correctness of this view was speedily demonstrated by the promulgation of the now famous "Executive order" issued by President Roosevelt. The President has since strongly disclaimed any intention of modifying the Act so far as it applies to laborers. Without raising any question of Mr. Roosevelt's sincerity in this connection, it is at once apparent that the practical effect of the instructions issued to the Immigration officials must be a material relaxation of the carefulness and, if you please, stringency necessary to make the Act effective in its main features. Under the "Executive order" officials incur the constant risk of "immediate dismissal" on the ground of "any discourtesy shown to Chinese persons." It is very doubtful if any law could be enforced under such a limitation upon the authorities. Certainly, experience with the illimitable devices of Chinese cunning goes to prove that some measure of discourtesy, and even of harshness, must frequently be adopted if Exclusion is to be maintained in practical force and effect.

Those experienced in the operation of the Chinese Exclusion Act will readily recall the fact that for a long time that measure was ineffective because of conflict between the various authorities concerning the meaning of its terms and the manner of its enforcement. This conflict was gradually removed, and there came into existence a code of rules and regulations, under the operation of which the Exclusion Act became effective. Throughout the debate in Congress on the various bills to re-enact the Exclusion Act it was constantly insisted that these rules and regulations should be embodied in the new law, and thus be placed beyond official discretion. The effort in this direction failed, and now, as predicted by the supporters of the so-called Kahn-Mitchell bill, in the Congress of 1902, the entire status of Exclusion is altered by the issuance of a single order. Whether that order

was intended by the President's advisers solely for the purpose of weakening the Chinese Exclusion Act, or merely as a diversion from the rapidly-accelerating movement toward Japanese exclusion, matters little. In either case the effect would have been the same, namely, to re-open the whole subject of Mongolian immigration and compel a review of the grounds upon which Exclusion is demanded and justified.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CHINESE.

The grounds of objection to Chinese immigration, stated in the inverse order of their importance, may be briefly summed up under the heads, political, economic and racial.

THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTY.

Discussing the political aspect of the case, it is axiomatic that every government is a reflex of its constituents. Free governments exist only among free peoples, and despotic governments only among servile peoples. It is an old and true saying that "there would be no tyrants if there were no slaves." The forms of government amount to little in themselves. The form of popular government may exist long after its substance has departed, just as the shell of an egg may exist to enlighten and amuse the antiquary long after the species of the parent fowl has become extinct. On the other hand, the forms of despotic rulership may be perpetuated long after the people have assumed all the material powers and functions of government. The essence of government inheres in the people, and, in the last analysis, in the people who apply themselves to the land, the tillers of the soil. A popular government resting upon a race of servile laborers is a pyramid resting upon its apex; it is bound to fall. These truths apply to all nations, but particularly in proportion as agriculture and other prime industries constitute the main source of the national life.

The Chinese are a servile race; so regarded, they are debarred from participation in the politics of the United States. The important point

to be noted in this connection is that a republic cannot thus proscribe one set of men without endangering the political efficiency of others, upon the principle that the man who fastens one end of a chain to a slave fastens the other end to himself. The force of this observation becomes the more apparent in proportion to the importance of the position occupied by the disfranchised classes in the industrial life of the country. In a word, we can not hope to preserve political power—notwithstanding we may preserve its forms—to those occupying the so-called higher strata of industry, so long as the lower strata, the foundations, are occupied by political neuters. As well might we hope to build a castle upon a quicksand. The political disabilities imposed upon the Chinese are to be commended upon the ground of expediency; but upon the ground of principle these disabilities must be condemned, not upon Chinese, but upon American account. The conservation of principle in this matter lies not in granting the electoral franchise to the Chinese, but in the total exclusion of that race from our country, the political institutions of which rest upon the theory that "all men are created equal," and the perpetuation of which requires discrimination in all matters which involve a conflict with that theory.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

Considered from the economic standpoint, the objection to Chinese immigration lies not in any assumed inferiority of that race. Rather the contrary. The present being a machine age of industry, the machine-like man is the superior of the physical or intellectual man in the modern requirements of labor. Not only is the Chinaman peculiarly adapted to the prevailing character of production in many industries, but he is congenitally adapted to the existing tendencies of distribution. The Chinaman produces more and consumes less than the American; that is to say, the former works longer and for less wages than the latter. In short, the Chinaman is the perfect complement of

the machine; he is a veritable wheel in the great mechanism of industry. Not only does the Chinaman meet all the requirements of a machine-hand, but he actually constitutes a machine in himself, and thus invades industries which, in his absence, would still be available to ordinary manual labor. In these circumstances it follows of necessity that the Chinese will secure the preference of employment wherever docility and nervous endurance constitute the prime requisites of efficiency.

At this point we are met by the general question of immigration, as it presents itself on the Atlantic as well as on the Pacific seaboard. The problem of how to absorb and assimilate the great numbers who have landed year by year at Ellis Island has at length been answered by a practical admission of impossibility. The task of accommodating the round million or more of immigrants constituting the present annual influx has proved too much for the erstwhile unlimited capacity of the United States. Restriction of European immigration has been discussed, and even to some extent practiced under the various laws on the subject. Now, however, the plan quite freely proposed calls for the total suspension, or exclusion, of immigration for a period of years.

CHINESE PROBLEM OF QUALITY.

Undoubtedly, the whole question of immigration is a serious one and must be met by vigorous measures, if we would avoid the grave menace of a large and constantly-increasing class of idle labor, permanently poor and permanently alien. However, Chinese immigration, in addition to its contribution to the evils involved in the general aspect of the question, presents an aspect peculiar to itself; it is, in fact, a problem in itself. Generally speaking, we should say that European immigration is a problem of quantity; whereas, Chinese immigration is a problem of quality. In other words, the evil of European immigration arises from the numbers involved, that of Chinese immigration from the nature of the indi-

vidual. We have seen that an important objection to the Chinese laborer consists in his much-vaunted "industriousness," in his willingness to work without cessation up to the limit of physical endurance. This objection does not lie against the European immigrant. In this sense the comparative indolence of the latter assumes to the mind of the American worker the form of a positive virtue. It is said that vice and virtue are relative terms. Such being the case, we may, without approving idleness or unthrift, on their own account, deprecate, if not condemn, as a vice the industriousness of the Chinese who lives to work, and commend as a virtue the laziness of the European who, although he works for low wages, works as little as possible. The Chinaman who works twice as hard or as long as the European is equal to two Europeans, in point of numbers, to say nothing of other objections.

THE RACIAL QUESTION.

We come now to the racial phase of the matter. Considered from this standpoint, Chinese immigration is clearly differentiated from the subject of immigration in general. The unassimilableness of the Chinese is proverbial. This fact, considered in connection with the observation—already amply demonstrated by our own experience with race problems—that no two unassimilable races can long occupy the same territory in peace, constitutes a sufficient argument from the racial point of view. It is unnecessary to enter upon an elaboration of this point. However, it should be noted that the whole question centers in and rests upon the race factor. Opinion may be divided concerning the real nature of the Chinese immigration question and the relative importance of its various elements. It may be said by some persons that the question is a political one, and by others that it is an economic one. Either or both of these views may be accepted, but only as half-truths, so to speak. Both political and economic aspects of the matter owe their existence to, and must be dealt with as parts

of the race aspect. The Chinaman is a menace to our political institutions, not because his skin is yellow, nor because he wears a pig-tail, but because his racial character unfits him to share the responsibilities of popular suffrage. Similarly, the Chinaman is a menace to our economic standards, not because he consciously and wantonly undermines these standards, but because it is his nature as a Chinaman to do so. At bottom, then, the question is one of race preservation, of preserving this continent to the American people, for the maintenance of American standards and the perpetuation of American ideals, or of abandoning it to the exclusive occupancy of an alien and repugnant race.

"RETALIATION."

We hear much in these days of retaliation by means of the boycott. Reports from China are conflicting and indefinite. No one seems really to know the actual status of the threatened injury to American commerce with the Orient, a fact which lends color to the suspicion that the Chinese boycott is merely an American bugaboo, designed to affect public sentiment in the matter of Chinese Exclusion. However this may be, two things seem perfectly clear: first, that in proportion as Chinese immigration increases American commerce with the Orient will tend to pass into the hands of the Orientals, at both ends of the line; secondly, that the threatened loss of trade with China has no terrors for the American people and should have none for the American merchant who has foresight enough to see in the home market, when properly cultivated, an infinitely more profitable field than any afforded by foreign countries. What shall it profit the American merchant to gain the market of the world's starvelings and lose that of the world's largest consumers, the American people? What shall it profit the American ship-owner to gain the commerce of the "teeming Orient" and lose the carrying trade to the flags of the Sun and the Dragon? What shall it profit the American people to gain the good-will of Japan and China and lose

their blood-bought heritage to the brown and yellow men?

AGGRESSION?

All that is here said concerning Chinese immigration may be repeated with equal and, indeed, with added force in the case of Japanese and Korean immigration. The objections to Chinese immigration rest upon substantially the same grounds as formerly. Applied to the Japanese and Koreans, these objections are urged the more earnestly by

reason of the developments of recent times, at home as well as abroad. The industrial potentialities of Europe and Asia are assuming the form of reality. The sudden appearance of a military power in the Orient portends new conquests, military or industrial. China, gorged with people and asleep for centuries, might be contemned with safety; the same nation, stirred to industrial activity and forced to disgorge her surplus population, is to be feared by every nation that would maintain elbow-room for the coming generations.

The Homes of Working People

By Mrs. Ethelbert Stewart

Edwin Markham, that modern poet of the people, says:

"Precious the home, though but a rifted rock
Where way-worn shepherd tarries with his flock;
Precious the friendly covert, though it be
Only the shelter of a lonely tree.
Dear is that world-old, warm, heart-pulling thing,
To man and beast and bird one gladdening;
Dear is the roof, the hole, the lair, the nest—
Hid places where the heart can be at rest."

What else but the innate power of that "heart-pulling thing," the love of home, would ever make any working-man or woman marry and attempt to establish a family, in the face of "Modern Industrialism?" Where is the warrior with such courage as that woman possesses, who marries a man who is getting nine dollars a week, and who knows she must make that cover the living expenses of herself, her husband and all the children that may come, possibly till those children are old enough to begin to add their mite to the family income?

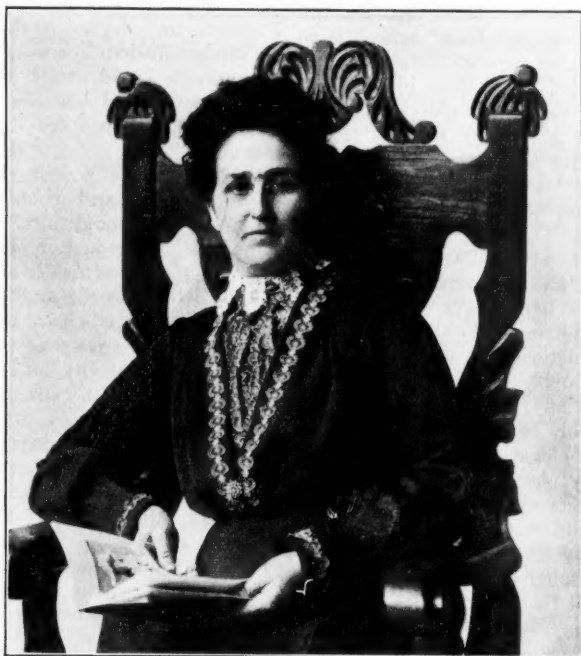
All over the north-west section of Chicago are Poles, Germans, Bohemians, Italians and others, with here and there an American family, who live and maintain families on wages that run from \$9.00 a week, when they are lucky enough to have steady work, and much less when they are not, up to the skilled workmen who get \$25.00 and \$30.00 a week.

CHICAGO'S WAGE TOPOGRAPHY.

On the west side are more American workmen than any other part of the city, though there are all nationalities and all occupations. Many railroad men live on this side, and there are printers, carpenters, brick-layers, painters and men of all the trades that have strong unions. The wages drawn by them are better, as many of them get as high as \$4.00 a day when at work. Their wages would necessarily have to be better in order to live there, as rents are higher. On the south-west side, lying between the direct west, and the stockyards, are the Bohemians, Italians and many other Europeans, working as tailors, cigar-makers, lumbermen, street-cleaners, and railroad laborers, whose wages are about the same as those of the north-west side. Out in the stock-yards district there are nearly all nationalities. In the more skilled

occupations of the district the Irish number one-half, the Bohemians and Poles one-half, while among the common laborers Poles, Lithuanians and Slovacs constitute ninety per cent. There the wages range from \$9.00 a week to \$70.00 and \$80.00 a month, with here and there a man who does some very skillful and very dangerous work, and who gets as high as \$5.00 a day. These figures represent full

build up a home in some more sightly region by and by, but they are either so badly maimed in a short time, that they are no longer fit for work, or are thrown out of work by strikes and lock-outs, or more commonly by shut-downs, so that they really average little more than men in other occupations. On the north side, out in Little Hell and around it, are tanners, lumbermen, coopers, and workers in all kinds of



Mrs. Ethelbert Stewart

Whose influence among the women's clubs of Chicago has been conspicuously for a clear and intelligent appreciation of the social and industrial problem.

week's wages, but the men are lucky to get five days a week.

Out in South Chicago, where nearly all work is more or less dangerous, men get from \$9.00 a week to \$5.00 and \$10.00 a day, just in proportion to the skill required to do the work, and the danger to life and limb. If they could stand such work long, and have steady employment, they might earn enough to

factories, who earn about the same as their neighbors immediately west of them. To give some idea of the nationalities in this district, and also to give a glimpse of its factory life, let us list the workmen in one of its largest manufacturing establishments. It has 4,272 employees. Of these 1,571 are Poles, they constitute nearly 37 per cent of the whole number. Next comes the

Germans with 1,251; Austrians 772; Swedes 156; Irish 154; English and Americans 56; Danes 53; Norwegians 42; Greeks and Syrians 37 each; Scotch 31; French and Belgian 18 each; Russians 13; Bohemians 12; Australians and Swiss 11 each; Slovacs 9; Canadians 4; Hungarians, Dutch, Jews and Italians, 3 each; Turks 2; Finlanders 1; Total, 4,272. Bohemians have a much higher representation in the tanneries, breweries and lumber docks of the district. The Polish settlement around their great cathedral and school is in this locality and presents the most dense and congested population in Chicago, if not in the world. In places the population reaches 10,000 persons to the acre, exclusive of streets. Three buildings on one lot are very common. In each building the investigator sometimes finds a dozen families. The houses are mostly old frame buildings, among which a fire would probably cost hundreds of lives. The practical absence of Italians from the payrolls of the great factories must not be taken as evidence that there are few Italians in the district. Italians have a practical monopoly of railroad and out-door work; track elevation, section labor and such. They constitute more than half the city street cleaning, paving, sewer gangs, and do practically all street contract work. The effort to turn the flood of Italian immigrants into the South to fill the cotton mills is a misdirected one. Even though they go South, they will not work in cotton mills. It is not factory labor. Taken the city over, you find more dirt in the homes of Italians than of any other nationality, though of course, even in the midst of this filth, you often find a clean and decent apartment.

All over these various sections, however, men are frequently out of work, or have been during the years preceding this one, and, of course, on that account, the women and children that would otherwise remain at home, must push out into the world and try for some kind of work by which to feed hungry mouths.

FEMININE CAPTAINS OF FINANCE.

In all these various districts, there are women, who are shiftless, and who squander the money earned by their husbands, and women who are perfect *captains* of finance, in the way they manage the little income. In all this great city, not more than 40 per cent of the women belong to the former class. Frequently you find a woman, who for lack of brains, or more often for lack of proper training in youth, gets deeper and deeper in debt no matter what her husband earns, and who buys things she could easily do without on the promise that her growing children will work and pay for them when old enough.

All over the poorer districts there are grocers and small tradesmen, who partly through kindness of heart and partly as a matter of business, encourage this tendency in the mothers to go in debt, with the understanding that these bills are to be paid by the children as soon as it is possible to put them to work. A majority of workingmen's wives make both ends meet, and keep within the husband's income, no matter what it is. When it gets so low by sickness or lack of work that they cannot live without going deep in debt, they go out to wash and clean house by the day, for which they receive from 75 cents to \$2.00 a day, or if there is a daughter at home old enough to look after the little children after she comes home from school, they go out to scrub some big building down town, from six to eleven o'clock at night. For this work they receive \$22 a month for every day except Sunday. This is usually preferable, because it is better pay take it the year round, and the older children can remain in school and still look after the little ones during the mother's absence, whereas they must be kept out of school if she go out to work during the day. I know one woman, whose husband is a street car carpenter or repairer, who goes to work after her eleven years old daughter comes home from school, walks one mile across prairies to the car, rides seven miles on

a car, that takes one hour of her time, scrubs till eleven o'clock at night, rides the seven miles back, and then walks the remaining mile, all alone after midnight, every night the year round, and does this that she may pay for a little vine-wreathed cottage out in Galewood, that her husband's wages will not pay for after the other necessary expenses are taken out. And this man is a kind husband and father, who loves his home, spends all his leisure time there, and squanders none of his wages on himself.

There are many such women, both in the outskirts of the city and down where the outside hideousness would suggest nothing but squalor and dirt and desolation in the home, but where one is more than surprised to see the inside of many a home. Many a place where the street is dirty, the lot covered with dilapidated-looking tenements, front and rear, where there is no yard, and not even a place to hang clothes except on top of the building, in the midst of the factory smoke, and where you are afraid for your life as you try to climb the rickety stairway that leads to the little flat, you will find a beautiful woman, who greets you with a kindly smile, she asks you to take a seat in a room so clean that you could eat your lunch off its floor with no great injury to yourself, and where there are articles of fancy-work and home decorating, that gives the whole place, once you are inside, an air of elegance and home comfort, that is the only thing that gives any man the courage to toil on, for six long days for \$9 or \$10. Perhaps here is the place to say that while many of these women condemn the unions for their troubles and think their husbands are to blame, many more hold a much more rebellious and anarchistic attitude toward the industrial situation than the men, and are teaching their children to study out ways and means to get even in the future. They are so full of this spirit of retaliation that they are glad of an opportunity to express their opinion to the investigator, especially if that investigator happens to be a woman.

HOW THE WAGE IS SPENT.

As \$14 a week is about the average wage earned by the men, I will take the expense account of a Teller in a Lumber-yard, who earns that much and whose wife is about an average manager. Neither shiftless as some are, nor a wonder in her managing ability, as are others. Just typical of the ordinary housewife. Out of the \$728, she spends \$312 for food for a family of five, which is also as near an average as we can strike. This is \$6 a week, or five and three-quarter cents per meal per person, and is a fair average too. She pays \$10 a month for the rent of four rooms on the second floor of a rear tenement, or \$120 a year. Her fuel bill for the year is \$40 for during the nine months she burns coal, and \$3 a month for gas during the remaining three months, or \$9. Her lighting bill for the year is about \$12. These things absolutely necessary to the existence of a home, cost her \$493, leaving her a balance of \$235, if her husband works steadily during the year, with which to clothe a family of five, pay for all necessary replacing of household furniture and utensils, books and newspapers, doctor bills and life insurance, dues to the husband's labor organization, and donations to her Church, and out of which must come all the amusements and vacations the family can have. One can readily see why such mothers are willing, after fourteen years of such close pinching and saving, such confinement in four little rooms overlooking an alley, that their daughters shall go to work as cash girls or factory help, when the \$3 a week which they can earn means so much to them all.

MONOTONY VS. DANGER.

Dangerous as it is; I question, if the food for thought, the development of the love for the beautiful, instinctive in every girl, made possible by constant association with the people and things of a great department store, are not better for these girls, than the monotony of a life spent in looking out upon dingy walls, rickety stair-ways and overflowing garbage cans. A successful

battle for the better housing of the poor must be waged, before the long-fought battle against women and young girls leaving the homes for the shops can ever be a success. What girl of fourteen or fifteen, born with an artistic temperament, would not rather spend her day, and a long day, surrounded by beautiful things and well-dressed people, than shut in by the dirt and squallor of Ewing street or Tell place? Especially after that esthetic sense had been developed by a number of years in the public school? Even the sad spectacle of the half Americanized snob, who despises her mother and laughs at her brogue, will pass away, when, in the second or third generation, the specious refinement of the department store clerk shall have become a real love of beauty, mixed with good sense, in her children.

SACRIFICE FOR FAMILY WELFARE.

In the better districts, where men earn \$15 and more, there are women who keep up a pleasant little cottage of their own, have it well furnished, keep three or four children in school, and probably one or two at home, and do it all on this \$15 or \$18 a week. But think what this woman is paying for all this comfort for her family out of her own life. No woman in this day and age of strenuousness can bear and rear a large family of children, do all her own house-work, washing, ironing, sewing, and caring for her family through sickness and death, without breaking down too early in life, even on \$25 a week. Is it any wonder we have so many who grow careless, and let the home become only a filthy shelter for its inmates? Is it any wonder the chief of our great nation begins to complain of race suicide, when the average wage earned will maintain a home in any degree of beauty for no more than two. I believe that more joy or anguish comes to women through the sense of seeing than through any other of the five physical senses, to say nothing of that psychic sense of the eternal fitness of things that is in-born with all women.

Many a woman has found that her esthetic tastes must be given as a burnt offering on the *family* altar. No woman in whom the love of home is paramount, can keep up that home in any degree of comfort, cleanliness and beauty, look after several children and ever get out and cultivate her mind, or do any of the things for which the woman's club stands, on the average workingman's wage, while conditions remain as they are.

FUNCTION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

Women's Clubs can never accomplish the thing for which they were established, the lifting of all womankind into their proper place, so long as three-fifths of the women of the world remain submerged. I believe the average working-man's wife prefers her own home to going out into the world to do any other kind of work, and would under better conditions only improve herself, and her home, and her husband and children in consequence; but no one knows how to appreciate a little liberty like the mother of a large family, upon whose shoulders has rested the toil as well as the responsibility of that household.

The *better* class of American women can never accomplish much until they can carry their more unfortunate sisters with them in their efforts to rise. The Woman's Clubs could do no more themselves, than by advocating, and eventually helping to establish, public kindergartens and public Creches where the working-men's wives could leave their children long enough to attend a club or neighborhood meeting, as well as long enough to go out to earn something; public domestic science schools where the young girls can be taught how to maintain a home; public laundries where the housewife can go to do her washing and ironing with half the work and worry it now is when she must do it in the home; municipal tenements like those in Glasgow, where they can make homes of real beauty, at no greater cost than they now pay for such as make the heart sick, where the same amount of ground could be utilized so as to give

the children a miniature park in which to play, and cultivate flowers and a love of the beautiful.

One of the questions sent out by the leaders of the Chicago Women's club conference was, "Do you consider the present organization of the home as permanent, or is it undergoing certain modifications incident to Modern Industrialism?"

I certainly believe the home is undergoing certain modifications along the line of which I have just spoken, and that the day is not far distant when the love of justice and the love of the beautiful, combined in the hearts and minds of the leading men and women of the time, will bring about that much needed thing, better homes for working-men and much better opportunities for their wives and daughters. When not only for the well-to-do, but for the toiler too, "Home will greatness as the years go by, Probing the soul and lifting the low sky,

When Beauty shall step downward from
her star

To smile away the blemish and the scar;
When science shall draw down Orion's
band

To ease the burden of the woman's
hand,

And all the powers of Earth and Air
and Fire

Shall be the lackeys of the heart's desire.

And home will sweeten in the coming
days,

When widening love shall warm these
human ways;

When every mother pressing to her
face

Her child, shall clasp all children of the
race.

Then will the rafter and the oaken beam
Be laid in music and the poet's dream—

Then Earth, as far as flies the feathered
foam,

Shall have in it the friendly feel of
home."

The Los Angeles "Fellowship"

By Benjamin Fay Mills

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Los Angeles "Fellowship" here described by its founder and leader, has attracted wide attention and enlisted a large local following by its appeal to the elemental religious and social instincts and its attempt to co-ordinate the dynamics of the one with the human service of the other. The ideal thus presented should be found suggestive to all at work on either line, however they may differ in religious conviction or form of effort from those described. The following article was written by Mr. Mills for THE COMMONS at the request of the Editor.

The Los Angeles Fellowship is an association of people for the purpose of encouraging trustful and unselfish living. This is the only creed or platform authorized by this virile young organization.

HISTORY.

The Fellowship is a direct outgrowth of a series of addresses delivered at various times in the winter and spring of nineteen hundred and four and of a summer gathering that same year on Santa Catalina Island, where a number of friends became so attached to one another and to the principles which characterize The Fellowship, that on

their return they could not easily be separated, and with other kindred spirits began in September the preliminary organization. The real history of The Los Angeles Fellowship, however, reaches farther back, and I suspect its roots may be found in the very beginning of the development of the human race.

This society intends to meet the demand of our time; a time when, as Mazzini says, "The old world passes away and a new world comes into existence."

The minister of the preliminary organization was Mrs. Mary Russell Mills, who was invited to fill the posi-

tion during my absence in the East, and until we could determine whether to make Los Angeles our permanent home.

From the first gathering, unmistakable indications of genuine spiritual interest and power were present, and under the leadership of Mrs. Mills the audiences grew in size, until they were crowded from a smaller to a larger hall, and then to a larger one and then to a larger one still, until now we find the largest auditoriums inadequate to accommodate our congregations.

On February tenth the formal organization was perfected by the adoption of a constitution and the election of permanent officers. On the roll to date over twelve hundred names have been inscribed. The members are not residents of Los Angeles alone, or even of this vicinity, but people from all parts of the United States and even beyond its borders have been seeking the privilege of being enrolled as charter members, and among them are names of some men and women of laudable national and international renown for their good words and works. Quite a large number of ministers of orthodox and liberal churches have enrolled their names.

OBJECTS.

The object of this organization is nothing less and it could be nothing greater than the attempt to put the true content into the idea of religion. It proposes to minister to every rational need of humanity, individually and collectively. The Fellowship is not a church in the technical sense, but yet, in the best sense, we mean to be thoroughly religious and to endeavor to be what a church ought to be. I believe that any man is religious who obeys the impulse to be better, and that a religious association is one in which the members endeavor to help one another and all men to lead the good life. Our name is indicative of our purpose, which is the recognition and cultivation of fellowship with the Unseen Author and Preserver of our being, with our fellow-men, with every living creature, as well as with the great inanimate

Mother Nature who is trying to speak to us in myriad ways. The greatest word of our time is Unity. It describes the best thought of the science, politics, economics and religion of to-day, and what we mean by fellowship is the attempt to make practical this great present-day, world conception. We do not mean to make any distinction between men by the forming of this society. This is not a Fellowship, but *The Fellowship*. We do not say, We are the sheep, and others are the goats; the good people are within and the bad people are without. We do mean, however, that we recognize the fact of human fellowship and desire to live with all men in the practical recognition of the fact that we are all one. For ages men and women have been talking of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. It is possible that the early Christians lived according to these principles, but whether they did or not we want to realize them just so far as in us lies, in and through *The Fellowship*. The application of this principle would solve all the problems of human association. We could well take as one of our mottoes the words of William Morris in "The Dream of John Ball": "Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven and the lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life and the lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them. * * * Therefore, I bid you not dwell in hell, but in heaven * * * upon earth, which is a part of heaven and forsooth no foul part." To promote this spirit among ourselves and in every human association is the object of *The Los Angeles Fellowship*.

MEMBERSHIP.

This is not a union of those who hold the same opinions on theological, economic or political subjects. Religion by opinion has had its day. If we must have a creed, I think most of us would be satisfied with Professor Dolbear's statement, "I believe in goodness and will so order my life." There are enough organizations which stand for all sorts of specialties concerning all pos-

sible varieties of religious ideas and activities. This is a society especially and exclusively for the promotion of goodness, without regard to opinions, which are not fundamental and which must change with the increase of human knowledge. This is a union of men and women in purpose and in spirit. But while we ask no questions of any man concerning his opinions on any subject, as the test of membership, we are beginning to realize, to use the words of another, that "when men are welded together in spirit, they shall be welded together in the Eternal Verities." I suppose it is true that all the present members of The Fellowship, without any attempt at uniformity of thinking, are more in accord in their opinions concerning the fundamental principles of life and conduct than are the members of any other similar organization on earth.

The conditions of joining The Fellowship are simple. First, that the applicant shall understand our principles of trustfulness and usefulness and agree to endeavor to practice them and to encourage others in the same endeavor. It is undoubtedly true that there are people in the world who are not yet ready for this kind of association. If they are not, we bid them God-speed where they are, but as Richard Wagner said, "We work for those who are awakening." We find great multitudes of people who are welcoming the organization of The Fellowship with unutterable enthusiasm. But although it is a very simple matter to join The Fellowship, it is also a very serious undertaking.

Practically, the method of joining The Fellowship is exceedingly easy. We do not elect our members; they elect themselves. Any one who signs the roll or authorizes the secretary to sign the roll for him, and makes a subscription to the current expenses, proportionate to his interest and ability, immediately becomes a member, and only loses his membership when he fails to indicate his continued interest, by his absence, or delinquency in the payment of his subscription.

ADMINISTRATION.

Here, too, we have endeavored to arrange our affairs so that they will be administered with efficiency and yet with great simplicity. In the strict sense of the term, we have no governing body. Our officers are not rulers, but administrators. We have adopted the two modern principles of the Initiative and Referendum and of the Recall or Imperative Mandate, by which methods are provided so that the entire body may indicate their supreme will at any time as regards the members of the official bodies and as concerns the initiating, revising or abrogating of any act of the officers, who are their agents.

The administrative bodies are, first, the Council, composed at present of fourteen members, which superintends the practical work of The Fellowship through about thirty committees; and, second, the Trustees, at present numbering seven. The Trustees have charge only of the financial interests. The only salaried officers are the ministers, who give their entire time to the work, and the necessary clerical and administrative assistants. Some of these officers, however, have done all of their work so far without any salary, and those who have received a specified amount have cheerfully received a sum as salary which is only a fraction of what they could be paid for services of equal value in other places.

PRINCIPLES.

I have already stated what we call The Fellowship Principles. As Emerson says, "There is a statement of religion possible which would make all skepticism absurd," and I believe that this is such a statement. These little words, Trust and Love, indicate to those who understand them the profoundest principles that have yet been discovered by man concerning the rational life of humanity. What was nothing less than a revelation came to Mrs. Mills and to me one day about two years ago on the beautiful Piedmont Hills above Oakland, when we saw clearly that the essence of every true religious philosophy and the inspiration for all sane

living might be summed up in absolute trust as the attitude of the mind and perfect love as the practice of the life. Underlying this statement is the conviction that in the universe and beyond it there is but One, and that One is everywhere; and that, as this great Reality, which men have called God, is manifested in nature, in experience, in the highest intuitions of one's own soul, it may be absolutely trusted and that in human relationships it may be loved and served. The practice of this principle is not only the way of salvation—it is salvation; that is, it produces knowledge, wisdom, character, peace and power. When the aberglaupe, or extra belief and overlying superstition, is removed, this is the essence of Judaism, of Christianity, and of every one of the great religions of the world. We do not mean to criticize or tear down. We wish to "criticize only by creation." We "have come not to destroy, but to fulfill."

ACTIVITIES.

I am free to say with the greatest emphasis that I would not be interested in The Los Angeles Fellowship if I did not believe that the people banding themselves together in this fashion devoutly mean to "look up and not down, look forward and not back, look out and not in, and lend a hand." I would not care to spend energy and time in this associated endeavor if I did not think we meant to take as a real motto one sacred to many a heart amongst us, "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister." This is an association of people for the purpose of helping one another to help others, and our main objects are practical. Formerly men have thought they might worship God socially and have tried to transact their ordinary business selfishly. I believe that the worship of God is a privilege of the individual, according to his personal development, but that in the practical affairs of life it is necessary that we should do our work in the spirit of fellowship.

Already we are engaged in many engrossing activities. There is probably not a week in which our meetings

of various sorts for educational and practical purposes do not average three or four a day. It is frequently the case that at the same hour several important meetings along different lines are in progress at the same time. Mrs. Mills' Emerson classes in numbers and interest surpass anything of the sort ever before developed anywhere. We are just putting our Sunday-school work on a thoroughly scientific and practical basis, which is to become, we trust, an influential educational institution along ethical and sociological lines. There are now four main departments in this school.

First, the Children's Church, which meets on Sunday mornings, at the same hour with our principal service.

Second, the Academy, which meets at 12:30 o'clock and consists of all the young people up to sixteen years of age. For the present, members of the Academy study simple ethics—the great lessons concerning everyday duties—the spiritual significance of some of the striking Old Testament stories and the life and teachings of Jesus.

Third, the Lyceum. This department will consist of young men and young women from sixteen years of age up. If they wish, they may graduate at twenty-one years of age into the College of Religion and Ethics, but may remain in the Lyceum until they are twenty-five. The text-book in these classes is my recent exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, entitled, "The Divine Adventure," which is divided into sections and used as regular lesson leaflets for this purpose.

Fourth, the College of Religion and Ethics. For the present, the only class in the college is the one conducted at 12:30 o'clock on Sunday by Mrs. Mills. The text-book for this class will be Mrs. Mills' recent statement of the fundamental principles of spiritual philosophy, entitled, "The Art of Living." This book has also been prepared for the special use of students in this class. The Emerson classes may also be counted as in this department, and we propose soon to commence sociological study along various lines.

The philanthropic activities of The Fellowship are already so numerous that time would forbid me to do more than mention them. We have thus far ten committees engaged in philanthropic work.

1. The Philanthropic Committee, which has charge of the especial ministry to those who are in financial need.

2. The Committee on the Sick, which stands ready to render efficient and helpful service to all people of all creeds who are in need of attention.

3. The City and County Jails Committee, who regularly visit our local prisons, become acquainted with the prisoners, and endeavor to render them efficient assistance upon their leaving their places of detention. This committee also furnishes libraries and reading matter to the inmates of the jails, and also provides clothing for numbers of them upon their release.

4. The Detention Home Committee renders similar service for the boys and girls of the Detention Home.

5. The Children's Hospital Committee furnishes delicacies, playthings, bandages, etc., to the sick children, visits the hospital to discover their needs, and render aid in other ways.

6. The Day Nursery Committee assists in the work of the Day Nurseries.

7. The Sewing Committee meets every week, with a large number of voluntary assistants, for the purposes of repairing, remodeling and otherwise preparing clothing, which is furnished by members of The Fellowship and others for the use of the Committees on the Jails and the Detention Home and the Philanthropic Committee.

8. The Boys' Club Committee has already organized one club of boys and is planning a large extension of this work among the less fortunate boys of the city this fall.

9. The Evening School Committee has conducted semi-weekly sessions of an evening school.

10. The Legal Advice Bureau consists of some well-equipped lawyers who give legal advice without charge to those who are unable to pay for it, but who endeavor as far as possible to assist

in banishing the contentious spirit and preventing litigation.

Besides these committees we have actively at work the Secretary's Committee, the Post Office Committee for the furnishing of Fellowship literature to those who may send us inquiries; the Sunday-school Committee, the Dramatic Committee, the Hospitality Committee, The Fellowship House Committee, the Welcome Committee, The Fellowship Magazine Committee, the Young People's Socials Committee, and the Ushers' Committee.

There have been about fifteen people connected with The Fellowship who spend practically all of their time in superintending and administering its various interests, and there are probably nearly three hundred who are actively engaged in various practical directions.

During this summer The Fellowship has made its summer home at the Venice of America, the unique summer resort just established by the ocean in the neighborhood of Los Angeles, where I have been the Director of the most extensive summer assembly ever held in the West. It is probable that we shall hereafter have some regular summer gathering place in this vicinity, where the members and others like-minded may meet for recreation and spiritual culture.

PLANS AND PROSPECTS.

We have not as yet made our definite plans concerning the erection of buildings for the use of The Fellowship, but there is pressing upon us a great practical demand for one or more buildings for our permanent auditorium and for the administration of our educational, social, philanthropic and other work. Various suggestions along this line are now in order, some of which may materialize into the provision for a permanent home.

But while we understand some of the immediate practical needs, we realize more than words can express, that these are not our greatest necessities. We believe in the truth of the word of the old Hebrew Psalmist: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the

city, the watchmen waketh but in vain." What he meant by this was that the great thing is not institutionalism or the making and carrying out of practical plans, but rather the developing of the great Spirit of Life to which all things are possible. If it were not that this Divine Spirit is so marvelously manifest in all of our work, there would almost be danger that we would grow too fast. We all of us need more and more an appreciation of the purposes and spirit of this movement. We need to see that we are not creating what is being accomplished, but that we are being created by the Eternal Spirit, are being used by Him, and are simply indications of what He means to do now and in the near future for humanity. I have lived in an atmosphere of a high type of religious consecration all my life, but I joyfully bear witness that I have never observed anything in quality or intensity like the hearty devotion of the people who are inaugurating this movement. The only word that describes it is enthusiasm, which literally translated from the Greek, means the realization of the presence of God in man. This is nothing less than a reformation of the reformation. A sublime spirit of service possesses scores and hundreds, as they place their names upon our roll of honor. Every week tens and scores of the most intelligent and noblest men and girls, volunteer for any sort of service they are able to render. I have made scores of requests for the giving of practical endeavor from our members, but I do not think I have opened one door of opportunity for self-denying service that has not been eagerly entered, unless there was some especial reason that prevented it. This great, deep, solemn, joyful, enthusiastic consecration which absorbs our lives is comparable in the spiritual experience of our ancestors only to the early days of Christianity. We do not make any claims or utter any prophecies concerning the future of The Fellowship. No one could realize more than do Mrs. Mills and I that we are

only instruments or channels for the outflowing of the Holy Spirit of our time. This is not an association of followers. Numbers of our members are leaders in their own departments of the world's work. It is not "a personally conducted party," but an association of thoughtful men and women who are bound together in the largest spirit of fellowship and devotion to the welfare of the world.

When the voice of the young Goethe began to be heard in Germany, some of the older seers of that land questioned whether it was the utterance of a prophet or no; and when the young man made his first visit to the venerable Herder, the old philosopher met the young poet at his door and, stretching out his hands and looking wistfully into his countenance, said, "Bist du's? Bist du's?" (Are you it? Are you it?) This is the question that the people of Los Angeles and those everywhere who may learn concerning us and our plans have a right to ask. The answer to this question, "Are you the church that should come, or do we look for another," can be given only by great Father Time; but this I do know—that until now, and at the present time, this is a movement of the Great Unseen Spirit. I like the German word "Zeitgeist," which means the Spirit of the Age. This is another name for what in the Christian vernacular we call "The Holy Spirit," for the Spirit of Our Time is the Spirit of All Time. We want this to be The Church of the Zeitgeist. We wish to help to build

"The coming church—the church universal—

Whose temple shall be all space,
Whose shrine shall be the heart,
Whose creed shall be all truth,
Whose ritual shall be work of love and usefulness,
Whose profession of faith shall be divine life.
Whose constant aspiration shall be to be as perfect as God."

Training for Social Workers

Report of the Committee to the National Conference of Charities and Correction

The spontaneity of nature's provision for the needs of life characterizes and accounts for the rise of the specialized educational efforts to train for philanthropic and social service. It is the most noteworthy fact in this first record of their progress submitted to the conference, upon which to comment. Like everything vital they are the agencies which life has developed to perpetuate, economize, conserve and increase its own energy. On both its practical and academic side this development has been wholly natural, if not inevitable, at just this stage of the evolution of philanthropy. Decision committees and friendly visitors' conferences, consultations of institutional staffs, residents' meetings in social settlements became more and more definitely educational in exchanging values by the rehearsal of experiences of success or failure. The association of charitable and reformatory workers in child-saving conferences, professional clubs, city and state organizations became educational clearing houses for the interchange of information, suggestion and fellowship across institutional boundaries. This conference has grown into a great summer school which has more and more grouped the charities and corrections of the nation within its charming personal fellowships and about its inspiring programs, while its published proceedings furnish the most authoritative text books we have upon the whole range of charitable and correctional practice and theory.

ITS PRACTICAL AND ACADEMIC SOURCES.

Meanwhile simultaneously, the universities, colleges, theological seminaries and other professional schools, notably at Harvard, Columbia, the Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan, the University of Chicago, Wellesley, Vassar, and Simmons College for women had been developing courses

and departments of instruction in social theory and practice. To meet this demand text books began to appear. Some religious bodies and Chautauqua circles had introduced reading courses on social ethics and service to wide popular use. Training schools for nurses had raised the occupation of the trained nurse to the dignity, discipline and esprit du corps of a profession. The success of these unacademic but none the less effective educational agencies, and of the academic but not wholly unpractical effort, suggested something to supplement and develop, but nothing to substitute for, their respective schoolings. The educational advantages, incidental to the practical office or field work of charity organization societies and other institutions, have been good enough to train up a corps of experts. Thus these practical agencies became indispensable in their laboratory and clinical values. The historical, comparative, scientific and philosophical research and instruction of the academic type were recognized by the field workers to be equally necessary to the success of their work. These two natural sources of supply and strength, with spontaneity as happy as it was remarkable, joined forces to furnish the more highly specialized and therefore most practical training for philanthropic, industrial and social service.

RISE OF THE TRAINING SCHOOLS.

Training schools arose thus not only simultaneously but under remarkably similar conditions. The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York was first in the field with its Summer School of Philanthropy, which for eight years has succeeded in attracting and inspiring students by its unique observational methods. Shortly after this initiative, Miss Helen Gladstone started a winter course of social training at the Woman's University Settlement in London. Although very quietly and un-

pretentiously managed and announced, its graduates are already to be found in some of the most influential and responsible positions in the metropolitan and provincial cities of Great Britain. In 1903-4 announcement was made of the establishment in London at the initiative of Mr. C. S. Loch and the Charity Organization Society of a "School of Sociology and Social Economics." The same year the New York City Charity Organization Society supplemented its summer school by winter courses chiefly for charity workers employed during the day. Encouraged by the demand for training, the existence of which was demonstrated by such partial advantages as has been offered, the "New York School of Philanthropy" was opened the same year with a curriculum extending through the eight autumn and winter months and including a full rounded course of training, with many lines of specialized study. Its co-operative relations with Columbia University have been developed by the creation of a chair of Social Economy at the University, avowedly to supplement the endowment and curriculum of the school. In 1904 also there successively arose "The School for Social Workers" in Boston, under the joint administration of Harvard University and Simmons College for Women; "The Institute of Social Science and Arts," established in connection with University College of the University of Chicago; "The School for Practical Training of Charity Workers" in St. Louis; and "The School of Training for Social Work," inaugurated by the University of Liverpool, England. There have thus grown up within two years six training schools, four in America and two in England, with a total attendance of about one hundred and fifty students.

THE PROBLEM OF CORRECTION.

The problems confronting these initial efforts and the ways in which they are being met, stand in the forefront of the reports received from all the schools. First among them is the question, how far can the practical and academic methods and constituencies of these

schools be correlated effectively for fulfilling their purpose? How real a problem this is may be indicated by the citations from letters written by members of the committee to the chairman. Mr. Philip W. Ayers of Concord, New Hampshire, writes:

"I do not think it expedient for our universities to train men and women for philanthropic work. Great as the influence of the universities is in turning young men and women into this field, they only prepare, but do not train. For any branch of philanthropic work, whether among the poor in their homes, or in institutions, one needs for a long period the close intimate touch that comes from and with people who are rich in experience, and this can be had only in the societies and institutions (institutions in the broadest sense). If perchance a training school for philanthropic workers is supported by a university, it seems to me that there is danger, even if its teaching force is chosen from practical workers, that its courses will become either very general and therefore academic, or else dogmatic; and in order to place the unfortunates in a better way of living without having the new worker gain his experience at their expense, we must have more than generalities; and there is no room at all for dogmatism."

Professor Charles H. Cooley of the University of Michigan pleads for both the best general and special training possible in these words:

"In my opinion a university training in theoretical and applied sociology is valuable to the professional worker chiefly in giving him sound general principles, a broad view of the various problems and of their relation to each other, and an acquaintance with the best literature. These are evidently of the utmost importance and I find their practical value is recognized by all intelligent opinions. I recognize, however, that the special Schools of Philanthropy now organizing in some of the great cities can add much that is of value to the student's training, and I recommend a short post-graduate course in such a school whenever feasible. * * * I suggest that the Committee in its report urge upon the Conference the importance to all social workers of a broad training in the universities and special schools; that it throw as much light as possible on the actual or probable demand for trained workers, and that it consider what may be done to increase the efficiency of bureaus of information, such as that established by Charities in New York."

In tendering his munificent gift yielding \$10,000 per year to the Charity Organization Society of New York for the endowment of the New York School of

Philanthropy, Mr. John S. Kennedy wrote:

"I obtained an act of incorporation for the 'United Charities,' and erected the building which is now known by that name, in the hope of securing thereby greater co-operation and more effective work among the important charitable agencies of New York, many of which are now located in the building. My expectations have been fully realized, and with their realization on the side of more efficient work has come a demand, not only in the City of New York, but throughout the country at large, for trained charity helpers. There is the same need for knowledge and experience in relieving the complex disabilities of poverty that there is in relieving mere ailments of the body, and the same process of evolution that has brought into our hospital service the trained physician and the trained nurse increasingly calls for the trained charity worker.

"I have noticed with increasing interest the efforts in this direction of the School of Philanthropy, conducted for the past seven years in the United Charities Building by the Charity Organization Society, which, in its inception, was solely a summer vacation school, but in its present form constitutes a full year's course, and I have, after careful consideration, decided to provide the means for establishing this school on a permanent basis, if the proposition contained in this letter proves to be acceptable to your society. *** I would wish to have Columbia University affiliated with this Committee, as it is with the Society, by constituting the President of the university for the time being, or some person delegated by him for that purpose, an ex-officio member of this Committee. I should also wish to emphasize the relation of this School to the United Charities and to the philanthropic work of the city by constituting as ex-officio members of the Committee the Presidents for the time being of the United Charities, of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, of the United Hebrew Charities and of the Particular Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. *** I have also considered the possible desirability of establishing the School as a department of some university, but have decided it should preferably be connected directly with the practical charity work of the city, in analogy rather to training schools for nurses which are connected with the hospitals than to any separate university department. I should hope it would affiliate its work, however, not only with Columbia University, but with other educational institutions, and I have sought by naming as ex-officio members of the Committee the Presidents for the time being of the more important societies dealing with the poor, not only to associate them in the direction of the

school, but to emphasize my desire that this School shall give a training in the practice of that broad charity which is free from any limitations of creed or nationality."

So long as there is actually a joint control of these schools by practical and academic experts, even though the former have only advisory relations to their management, and so long as the schools must depend for their training upon the experts actually at work in the specialties on the field, the danger of becoming doctrinaire is far less than the manifest gain both to the universities and to all lines of practical work in the alliance of the academic spirit and scientific method with the laboratory practice and the human touch.

TRAINING FOR PUBLIC INSTITUTIONAL SERVICE.

The rise of training classes in state institutions, especially in those for the care of the defective, and the inclusion of their employes under civil service laws in some states raises the question of the relation of these schools to the institutional service of county, city and state. The State of Minnesota recognizes the need of educational advantages for those responsible for its institutions to the extent of providing for the expense of their attendance upon the State Conferences of Charities. The University of Wisconsin offers special work in its department of Domestic Economy bearing directly upon service in public institutions. Efforts have also been initiated in Illinois to enable the state university to provide facilities for training those who would enter the service of the state institutions; and also to offer those already employed in them such advantages at the University as "teachers' institutes" afford those who could get leave of absence to attend them, and to open extension courses at some of the institutions for the benefit of those employes whose training can be supplemented only in this way. The first of the extension courses offered by the New York School of Philanthropy was given for the benefit of the graduating class of the Nurses' Training School of the New York City Hospital at the Nurses'

School on Blackwell's Island. The Michigan Asylums for the Insane are reported to be in close touch with the medical department of the state university, which furnishes them with some of their assistants. But no such effective co-operation exists anywhere in America as between the medical department of German universities and the public asylums for the insane. The special schools for training social workers can render no public service so great as to open the way for direct effort to broaden and increase the efficiency of all grades of employment in public institutions.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY TEST EACH OTHER.

One of the problems of the curriculum in each one of the schools is to test the present demand for training by the practical purpose involved in the instruction offered. The first response to the course offered at some of the large centers has come from the employed staffs of private and public institutions. While this fact accentuates a permanent claim upon the schools to provide facilities for increasing the efficiency of the force at work, yet the schools already see that these students are neither numerous enough to constitute the main source of supply, nor free enough to meet the standard of exaction which the schools must maintain to be educationally effective. So the curriculum is gradually being adjusted to the full time and strength of those who can devote themselves wholly to the work of preparing to serve either professionally or as volunteers. Provision is, however, made not only for the admission of the hard-worked members of institutional staffs, but special inducements are offered to enable them to take what they can get of the advantages of the schools. Experience on the field is placed on a par with academic qualifications required in others. Single courses or topics allied to their professional needs are open to their election, where others are expected to take the full curriculum. Boards of managers and superintendents are granting both the time and expense involved in the attendance

of their employes upon such courses. Yet the problem still remains of how to offer such training as will create the demand for it among such as are able to profit most by at least a year's full course.

OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES OPENING.

The permanent employment and living salaries surely opening to trained persons are urged as justification thus to prepare for a legitimate profession. A correspondent in one of the central western states writes that while "in filling positions in public institutions there is little or no recognition of the value of a general philanthropic training, yet the work the universities are doing should bear fruit in creating a demand for a higher class of trained workers." Another writes from the East: "Thus far the indications are that the demand for trained workers scarcely needs stimulating. The demand very greatly exceeds the supply. So far as city departments and state institutions are concerned, it will seem natural that trained students will succeed in the civil service examinations and will be appointed so far as they are willing to present themselves." This latter view of the excess of the demand over the supply is certainly the fact at western centers, especially with respect to the number of well-trained men and women available for head residents in settlements, the leadership of boys' and girls' clubs, probation officers in the juvenile courts, shop secretaryships for administering employers' betterment enterprises, and assistants to manage the developing social agencies in church work.

The duty of boards of managers to prepare themselves for their responsibilities is urged. Their appreciation of training for themselves is sure to enhance their valuation of trained helpers.

THE STANDARD OF EFFICIENCY.

How to maintain the highest standards of both academic and practical efficiency in the instruction and training of such schools, and to exact the

requirements for admission and graduation necessary thereto, is the problem involving more than any other the future of this movement for specialized education. The warning of one of the most experienced and discreet members of the committee deserves all the emphasis which this report can give and circulate. Miss Mary E. Richmond writes:

"Looking to the future rather than to the past, the question connected with training schools that immediately suggests itself is whether it is wise to encourage the organization of such schools in all our large cities. I am inclined myself to think that this is unwise. If six such schools were adequately endowed to-morrow, I fear that at least four of them would be very poor concerns for a good while to come, the chief element in the school after all being the personality and experience of the teachers. The supply of these comes slowly, and the multiplication of schools under second-grade leadership, turning out half-baked workers, is a danger that we have to face. We know how the medical profession has suffered from it. Perhaps there is no possibility of our escape, but in so far as the National Conference can influence the situation, I feel inclined to urge the Conference to encourage students to go to the school rather than to have the school come to the student. A few good centers

are going to do more good, I think, to the cause of charity and social reform than a large number of centers with programs and courses chiefly on paper. I am not writing this apropos of anything that has already been done. Perhaps I am unduly alarmed about what may happen in the near future."

For this service of maintaining a high standard of practical efficiency the common cause must look to this Conference more than to any other source of help, because it has always combined in its membership and management representatives of the most thorough academic discipline and of the most practical insight that wide experience and observation can acquire.

If therefore a committee of this Conference could be continued and so constituted that it would commend itself as a valuable advisory auxiliary to these schools—its annual reports here rendered, based upon the year's visitation of and correspondence with each of them would, by its faithful and constructive criticism and its oversight of the whole field afford perhaps a sufficient safeguard and incentive for the highest practical efficiency.

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chairman.

Social Training Courses for the Year

Boston

The School for Social Workers in Boston, maintained by Simmons College and Harvard University, will begin its second year October 3, in the same class-room at 9 Hamilton place, which has been found this year by the twenty-eight students, coming from all directions, to be both central and pleasant. The course of study of this year will be repeated, but with increased stress put on the topics under community and voluntary action for improvement of conditions of living and labor. The plan of having all the students take exercises covering every subject in the course, is believed to be very valuable in lessening the disadvantages to workers in particular parts of the field of seeing things from particular points of view only. Stress will be laid, from the opening of the academic year, on the

value to each student of regular work with at least two selected agencies, one which deals especially with needy families and one which touches directly the problems of neighborhood forces, their use and development. More of skilled direction in this is expected to be given to each student. The visiting to institutions will be, as this year, limited to institutions which are particularly significant, but the work of these will be studied. The regular instructors will be aided by a number of leading specialists. Social workers of experience, still active in the field, have been very helpful in the class, and a limited number of such will be admitted next year. The students of this year's class will be asked to attend some special exercises next year, to keep in touch with the school.

The work of the school may be taken by advanced students in Harvard. Be-

side the school, the director, Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, has now a class of over thirty advanced men at Cambridge; and both he and the assistant, Miss Zilpha D. Smith, give instruction at Simmons College. An introductory lecture course given there the first half-year was attended by twenty-four women.

New York City

The School of Philanthropy, conducted by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York at the United Charities Building, Fourth avenue and Twenty-second street, announces a very full curriculum covering thirty-five weeks, and the mornings of five days each week. Beside the officers of instruction, fifty specialists are announced to lecture in shorter or longer courses.

The fall term of twelve weeks, beginning October 2, includes "The Care of Dependent Families," by Miss Richmond of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, and others; "A General Survey," by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Dr. Samuel M. Lindsay of the University of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Florence Kelley, and others; "Constructive Social Work," by Mr. Lawrence Veiller of the New York City Club, Miss Jane Addams of Chicago, and others; and a special course on the "New Basis of Civilization," by Professor Simon M. Patton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

For the winter term of fifteen weeks, beginning January 3, there are announced courses on "Child-helping Agencies," by Mr. Homer Folks of the New York State Charities Aid Association, Mr. Charles W. Birtwell of the Boston Children's Aid Society, and others; the "Treatment of Criminals," by Dr. S. J. Barrows of the New York Prison Association, Mr. Joseph P. Byers of the House of Refuge, New York, Miss Frances F. Morse of the Massachusetts Industrial School for Girls, and others; "Constructive Social Work—Sanitary, by the Churches, Welfare Agencies, Clubs for Boys and Girls, and Savings Agencies," by Dr.

Wm. H. Allen of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Mr. Edward A. Filene of Boston, Rev. William B. Forbush, and others; "Provident Schemes and Public Relief in Europe," by Mr. John Graham Brooks; "Racial Traits and Social Conditions," by Dr. F. K. Frankel, manager of the United Hebrew Charities, Miss Kate H. Claghorn, assistant register Tenement House Department of New York, and others representing different nationalities; and a special course on "Special Aspects of Free Education," by Mrs. Spencer, Mr. Booker T. Washington and others.

The spring term of eight weeks is devoted to "The State in Its Relation to Charities and Correction," by Mr. Alexander Johnson, Mr. Robert W. Heberd, secretary of the New York State Board of Charities, and others; "Administration of Charitable and Educational Institutions," by Mr. Frank Tucker, of the Provident Loan Society, Dr. James H. Canfield, librarian Columbia University, and others; and a special course on "Immorality, Intemperance and other Social Evils," by Bishop McVicker and others.

Practical work by arrangement with managers of societies, institutions, settlements and public officials is assigned in accordance with the preferences of students.

Chicago

The Institute of Social Science and Arts, connected with University College of the University of Chicago and under the direction of Professor Graham Taylor, announces the following courses in its third year of work at the Fine Arts Building, 203 Michigan avenue. In the autumn session, beginning October 2, on Tuesdays at 4:30 p. m., Professors Taylor and Charles R. Henderson will give for twelve weeks an "Introduction to the Study of Social and Philanthropic Work," surveying its relations to other branches of study and movements of life, reviewing its literature, and considering the pre-requisites for entering upon and succeeding in such service. "Child-helping Agencies

and Institutions" will be treated on Mondays at 4:30 p. m. by Dr. Hastings H. Hart of the Children's Home and Aid Society, Mr. Henry W. Thurston, probation officer of the Juvenile Court, and Mr. Henry F. Burt of Chicago Commons. The specific topics assigned them, respectively, are the institutional care and placing-out of the juvenile wards of the state, special problems of adolescence and the Juvenile Court methods of meeting them, the principles and methods of club work for boys and girls, and the agencies for their religious training are the topics.

In the winter quarter, which opens January 2, 1906, the course on the "Causes and Treatment of Dependency" will be given Mondays at 4 p. m. by Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, Miss Julia C. Lathrop of Hull House, and Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society. On Tuesdays at 4 p. m. "The Care of Defectives and Delinquents" will be considered, the former by Miss Lathrop, Dr. H. V. Podstata, superintendent of the Cook County Institutions at Dunning, Dr.

A. C. Rogers, superintendent of the School for the Feeble-minded, Faribault, Minn.; and the latter by Professor Henderson, John L. Whitman of the Cook County Jail, John S. Sloan, formerly of the House of Correction, and Emory F. Lyon of the Central Howard Association.

Personal attention will be given to each student in the branch of work chosen for special training. Opportunity to do practical work under specialists is offered to those qualified to undertake it. Visits to public institutions and social agencies are arranged by co-operation of their managements, under the personal care of the director.

The third session of the institute will be a summer school from the middle of June to the first of August at the University of Chicago. Among the courses to be offered is one by Professor Taylor on the "Social Tendencies of Modern Industrialism," and another including the observational study of social and philanthropic agencies and interviews with practical specialists on the fields where they are at work.

Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest.

Pennsylvania's "Coal and Iron" Police to Go

A mounted state constabulary to preserve peace and order in the rural districts, to act as fire, forest, game and fish wardens, and more expressly to replace the "coal and iron" police, has been established by a law passed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

Besides being able to deal more effectively than local constables and police with the general problems of preserving law and preventing crime in the rural districts, the mounted constabulary is peculiarly adapted to the unusual conditions where are large, wild tracts of mountain lands and where the labor troubles in the coal and iron regions

give rise to frequent disturbances. The suppression of disorder in these last regions has kept the state militia busy and required large sums during the past few years, and has also required the special "coal and iron police," who have occupied the unfortunate and anomalous position of public peace officers supplied by the state but paid by the private companies whose property they protect. The irritation caused by this obnoxious relationship has continually given rise to conflicts with the miners which might otherwise have been avoided. The new mounted police, being in every way public peace officers, can scarcely fail to secure better order during labor troubles by removing a most fruitful cause of friction.

The well-known efficiency of the Northwestern Mounted Police in Canada and the great services of similar mounted bodies in some of the European countries certainly suggests such a constabulary as that to be established in Pennsylvania as the most effective means of solving the general police problems of the rural districts and perhaps also the special problems of lynching and mob law.

Governor Pennypacker has appointed Captain John C. Groome, formerly of the historic Philadelphia City Cavalry, as Superintendent of State Police, an appointment which, as *The Outlook* comments, "augurs well for the success of the undertaking and gives the best assurance that the new force will be governed without political bias or favoritism."

Following Folk

Through a number of newspapers—some of them the same Democratic organs which regard Governor Folk as "just about the most promising material in the Democratic party for president" have severely criticized the Missouri governor for his vigorous enforcement of the law which has practically "constituted himself mayor of St. Louis and Kansas City," the press in general, Republican and Democrat, has scarcely qualified its great praise.

His example of enforcing laws locally even against a strong sentiment in the communities, has given heart to Governor Hanly's race-track war in Indiana, is beginning to resuscitate the operation of the Sunday closing law in Springfield and other Illinois towns, and, among other things, has probably helped to work Governor Herrick for his promise of a campaign against lobbying in Ohio.

Unless Missouri follows the precedent of Mexico, which amended its constitution so that President Diaz could succeed himself, Folk cannot be elected immediately to another term. *World's Work* thinks he probably would not want the governorship for another term, even if he were eligible, as his name is being coupled with the

senatorship, to succeed Stone, whose term expires in March, 1909, a few weeks after Folk's. With La Follette and possibly this other reform governor, Folk, the senate may finally get along without the *mandamus* and indictments which have recently done so much to keep up our interest in our indirectly elected legislative body.

"The Heritage of the Hungry."

Robert Hunter in *The Reader* for September.

Those who have followed the interesting controversies, mis-statements and distortions following the estimate in *Poverty* of the number of underfed school children in New York will find especial interest in Mr. Hunter's latest summing up of the city problem of hunger.

While denying again the yellow journals' sensational distortion that "70,000 children come daily to school crying for bread," Mr. Hunter sees no reason to minimize his first estimate of the serious and real evil in "the day-by-day and week-by-week under nourishment" of 70,000 children. Concurring with Dr. MacNamara of the London School Board, "It is a most short-sighted policy to allow our young to grow up ill-nourished and, therefore, ill-developed. It is grotesque to lavish money on education for those who are unfit mentally and physically to receive the education offered them." Or, as Superintendent W. H. Maxwell of the New York public schools puts it, "Education, whether physical or mental, is seriously retarded, if not practically impossible, when the body is improperly or imperfectly nourished. The child of poverty with body emaciated, blood thin and nerves on edge, because he has never enough to eat, grows up stunted in body and mind. What a farce it is to talk of the schools providing equal opportunity for all, when there are hundreds of thousands of children in our city schools who cannot learn because they are hungry."

As the crux of the situation, "it is

impossible to neglect childhood without paying the inevitable penalty."

For, though Mr. Hunter finds it "sometimes possible to wrong an adult without injuring society," it is "impossible to wrong a child without injuring society." "The problem of the under-fed child is but one of the many social problems, yet it is almost as important as all the others combined. It means in its essence the breeding of a class of citizens who must be partially or wholly dependent, for the reason that their physical under-development precludes efficiency in the work they are to do. It is, perhaps, a more difficult problem than the others, but it is also a matter of more basic importance. No speculation is needed to assist us in conjecturing the inevitable results upon the future generation of the chronic under-feeding of a considerable number of children."

Labor's Condemnation of the Donnelly Sluggers

The Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen have rallied around their president who was so outrageously assaulted in Chicago last July. Their insistence that the best interests of organized labor as well as of the general public demand the apprehension and conviction of the culprits has been voiced the more earnestly because of the great loyalty to the honest and fearless leadership of Mr. Donnelly at all times, but especially during the great stock yards strike of 1904. And the storm of protest they have raised over the attempted assassination has been swelled by the universal outcry among the other unions and labor papers. The Butchers' *Official Journal*, however, puts the case in strong terms when it refers to the great strike benefits that union labor throughout the country has poured into Chicago at times of industrial struggle.

On this ground specifically, as well as upon the general consideration of the blow that was dealt the cause of labor in the minds of the public, to say nothing of the terrible wrong that was done

to Mr. Donnelly personally, the butchers call upon the Chicago Federation of Labor to punish the guilty. The *Official Journal* of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen prints a stinging editorial from the pen of its editor, Mr. Homer D. Call, who says in part:

"We believe that it is now up to the honest trade unionists of the city of Chicago to thoroughly investigate this case and get to the bottom regardless of expense or who it may involve and procure the arrest and conviction of the parties, (for we feel confident that they are known to some one,) and see that they are properly punished. When the trade unionists in the city of Chicago say that it is a family affair and that outsiders should not meddle, we feel that they go too far entirely and assure them that it is not a family affair but one in which the general public is deeply interested and especially that part of the public which comprises the honest trade unionists of this American continent.

"Every action of this nature places a stigma upon the trade union movement, not only in Chicago but honest trade unionists of the entire country are compelled to bear it with them.

"In all of the late struggles between labor and capital which have centered in Chicago, the trade unionists of the land have cheerfully poured their money into Chicago in unlimited amounts, and now they feel that they have the right to demand at the hands of the trade unionists of that city a thorough and complete investigation and the punishment of the criminals who were willing to be guilty of the murder of a man who was too honest to be brought simply to enable them to perpetrate their damnable system of control by violence."

Overworking Children in the Home

A very disconcerting effect of new child labor legislation in Germany, from which great and beneficial results had been expected, is to be found in the discovery that systematic overworking has been resorted to in the homes themselves. It might be well for those who are leading the fight on child labor in this country to look into the same aspect of it here. That the revelation uncovers a field that presents more than ordinary difficulties is true, but on the other hand it throws us back to the very root of the economic problems that are involved.

Consul Muench, of Plauen, Germany,

referring to a former report on this new legislation in Germany tending to prohibit infant labor and exploitation, says:

A sufficient test of the new legislation has been had to judge of its fruits, and these are not spoken of in the most enthusiastic strain. Optimists had believed that infant labor need only to be forbidden to be also prevented. That such has not been the result in this instance is now frankly admitted by the German press. It is pointed out that while the control of child employment in factories, restaurants and all public or semi-public works presents comparatively small difficulty, such control in case of "home work" becomes well-nigh impossible.

To be sure the inspectors, and other officials entrusted with the enforcement of this law, have sought and received the hearty co-operation of the school authorities in their endeavor to locate cases of absence and their cause but hesitancy is naturally felt to practice a system of espionage upon the movements of children in their own domicile, and it is opined that since the home employment of the child and its consequent withdrawal from the benefits of scholastic instruction is generally caused either by dire necessity or a willful disregard of the best interests of the child on the part of the parent, a close inquiry into the reasons for non-attendance is more apt to develop a species of deception and prevarication on the part of both parent and child than to evoke truthful statements of the real causes of such absence. It is feared, also, that a systematic course of investigation into the private home life of the child would tend to shake that confidence between scholar and teacher which is looked upon as an element of value in pedagogy.

Serious doubt exists whether the benefits under the new law have not been wholly offset by its baleful consequences. While it must be admitted that child labor in the factories has become easily controllable, it is charged that the very exclusion of children from these plants has called into being numerous other phases of infant labor. Thus, for instance, the industrial commission at Danzig reports that the home workers engaged in doing piecework for a wooden-ware factory employed not less than 489 children, aged from 6 to 14 years, at their homes at the work of plating cane for chair seats. Out of 317 children attending school, 135, viz., 42 per cent., were set to work after 8 o'clock p. m., nor did any of them enjoy their freedom during the recess of two hours at noon or of one hour in the afternoon. Thus the inhibition against factory work resulted to these unfortunates in the opening up of a far more cruel and deleterious employment.

It is strenuously urged, and with good reason, that in order to fully suppress this evil it will first of all be requisite to remove the temptation of this abuse by offering oppor-

tunity for parents to keep their young children at school and to do without the earnings now exacted from them.

Help is also expected from further legislation in the direction of curtailing all such home employment of immature children. Most of all, though, it is insisted that the inducements to parents toward keeping their minor children at school during school age should be greatly increased, and that not only the actually indigent, but the entire working classes, should be accorded free schooling for their children. The end of sociological legislation is not thought to be fully attained until it lights the way of childhood, as it even now smooths the path of old age. Thus it will be noted that elements are ever active in this country making for a broadening and deepening of the national schemes of patriarchal care of those not wholly able to take care of themselves, and the day is evidently not far distant when Germany will be able to boast of a public school system almost as free as our own.

Roosevelt on Trusts Again

The President's Chautauqua address in August was a warning to managers of quasi-public corporations—most of which has been said before, but cannot be too often repeated:—

Very many of these men seem to think that the alternative is simply between submitting to the mild kind of governmental control we advocate and the absolute freedom to do whatever they think best. They are greatly in error. Either they will have to submit to reasonable supervision and regulation by the national authorities, or else they will ultimately have to submit to governmental action of a far more drastic type. Personally, I think our people would be most unwise if they let any exasperation due to the acts of certain great corporations drive them into drastic action, and I should oppose such action. But the great corporations are themselves to blame if by their opposition to what is legal and just they foster the popular feeling which tells for such drastic action.

They evidently have nothing to fear from him on this score; he tells them so in as many words. But the reckoning with the people will be different. Nevertheless, the railroads, for example, continue to maintain bureaus of agitation against the public control of rates. The salaries being paid these railroad managers are large enough, it would seem, to secure men possessed of a reasonable degree of common sense.

Who Dictates Trade Union Membership?

That the employer and not the union leaders or any member or members of a union dictates the membership of a union has been recently emphasized again by John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers. The recurrent fulminations of employers against "the scalawags the unions take in" and the "toughs in the unions" seldom give the impression that a union is any "gentleman's club." And it cannot be, Mr. Mitchell explains, unless the employer hires gentlemen for the membership.

The gentlemen's club may blackball an applicant for membership if he happens to be personally offensive or distasteful to anyone already a member. Thus the membership can be kept very select and harmonious. But the labor union is unavoidably built on different lines. As Mr. Mitchell says, the unions "are compelled to take the people just as they find them. We cannot select the good from the bad; we cannot single out the ignorant from the enlightened; we are forced by our necessities and by conditions beyond our control to admit to membership every man employed in our industries." In brief, whom the employer may employ, the union must admit, regardless of the man's brains, temperament, manners or social standing. Bearing this in mind should help one to understand labor unions better.

More Fame for Milwaukee

Milwaukee's grafters have done even more than its breweries to attract attention recently. Two hundred and fifty indictments have been returned, of which one hundred and twenty-eight were brought in by the recent grand jury.

Centering first about street railway franchises and moving over into such enterprises as garbage contracts and the fire department, an opportunity for investigation at last came in the La Follette Republicans' fight against the Stalwarts. District Attorney McGovern, a strong La Follette man, brought about the results, the most remarkable of which is the indictment of Mr. Charles F. Pfister, for some time perhaps the most prominent political and business figure in the city. He is charged, not with graft, but with misappropriation of funds placed with him supposedly for purposes of corruption—a large sum put into his hands by a corporation determined to defeat the establishment of a municipal garbage plant.

The press, divided as to the probability of a conviction, congratulates the people upon the very unusual circumstance of the law even proceeding against one of the great political influence of Mr. Pfister.

Less Whiskey but More Beer

The tendency from the distilled to the brewed liquors, which has been marked for some time, still continues according to the internal revenue statistics for the fiscal year ending with last June. In that year we consumed 116,143,732 gallons of spirits against 116,848,372 for the year before. We drank 49,459,540 barrels of beer this last year, however, instead of only 48,208,133—or more than a million barrels more than the year before.

State Insurance for Florida

The Governor of Florida has recommended that the state take up the life insurance business. The *Springfield Republican*, commenting, says there is apparently nothing in the constitution or laws of any of the states, or of the United States, to prevent a state from so extending its functions of government, or even going so far as to establish a state monopoly of the business by excluding private companies.

College Settlement Association

Katherine Coman, President

Growth of Denison House

Denison House has made an important step in its growth, as on August 1 it came into possession of the adjoining house, 95 Tyler street. Its original house was No. 93 and later it acquired No. 91. Now it will have the three houses all connecting.

For the past few years it has leased rooms in No. 95, and last year it leased almost the entire house. Now by the addition of a furnace and the remodeling of the plumbing the house will be made more comfortable and available, and a door cut through on the ground floor will bring its activities under easier supervision.

We calculate that the financial situation will be improved by this step. We have been paying \$575 a year for the part of the house we occupied. For the whole house we now expect to pay a five per cent. interest on \$9,000, this sum covering, as we hope, purchase money and cost of changes. That is \$450 interest, to which must be added insurance and repairs. The city of Boston exempts us from taxation.

The cooking and laundry classes are to be moved from the first to the third floor. The basement and second floor will be used for clubs and for sloyd, the top floor for bedrooms and bath. The first floor will be used for many different purposes; among other for the meeting of a flourishing Italian club, composed of Italians from other parts of the city, largely of the professional class. This association, under the guidance of Miss Scudder, is proving to be a valuable first step in making acquaintance with our nearer Italian neighbors. For its own membership it furnishes not only social and dramatic opportunities, but a large acquaintance with American people and the English language. As one of its members, who had been already some years in Boston, remarked, "No, I speak not ze English.

You see, I live in Boston, and in Boston one hears so little English."

Yet English is not yet their favorite language. The Italians love to recite among themselves glowing passages from their own dramatists, and are anxious that their children shall be taught Italian. The club has provided a teacher from its own number to teach Italian to the children.

The Vacation School, managed by Denison House and held in two neighboring school houses, its cooking class meeting at No. 95, is going on successfully at the present time. It has been more popular than ever in our neighborhood. An interesting scene was witnessed when applications for membership were being registered. The rule was that an application, to be valid, must be made by the parent. The Syrian colony is growing and the children are eager for advantage and are often the only ones of the family who speak English. Thus the curious sight was presented of a small child bringing its parent indeed as required, but making the application itself and being obliged to explain to its bewildered father or mother all that was going on.

The Syrians are also much in evidence at the early distribution of milk from Denison House. This milk is prepared for young babies and is sold in nursing bottles, holding respectively four, six and eight ounces. In every case the charge is two cents a bottle. Some take home as many as six bottles at a time.

Last year we had a camp for our older boys near Lake Sebago, Maine. This year we are trying a new experiment. We have no camp, but only a wagon and horse, with camping outfit. This started from a point in Maine and is now rambling about somewhere in New Hampshire. A dozen boys accompany it. They always walk and they pitch their tent at night. Mr. Mook is in charge of the party, and a cook

accompanies them. Mr. Mook has to keep the Denison House people informed to what point the next batch of boys is to be sent.

As to the merits of this enterprise, financial and otherwise, we hope some day to report to THE COMMONS. The

meager details that reach us as yet from cloudland is that all are happy and that the wagon method prevents over-fatigue of the younger boys, as they do not have to reach any given point by night.

CORNELIA WARREN.

From Social Settlement Centers

Pacific Coast Settlements

The editor of THE COMMONS reports with grateful pleasure his first share in the inspiration and hospitality of the Pacific Coast settlements. He found everything reported of them in the Bibliography of Settlements to be more than verified, even on first sight.

San Francisco

The South Park Settlement is most comfortably housed in the well equipped building provided by the ever considerate generosity of Mrs. Hearst. Its residents and head worker together with some able non-resident associates constitute a group capable not only of the best neighborhood work, but of that civic intelligence and social vision which extend their helpful influence throughout the city. It was the writer's privilege to meet there one of those select groups which can be rallied only at such centers, representing the best brain of organized labor, progressive business and professional men and high types of public officials. It seemed strange to hear them discuss how to secure the sale of good California fruit in sufficient quantities and at reasonable rates among the working poor. The Peoples' Place is uniquely placed at two centers. The residence and "Place" are separated by a few blocks while the settlement awaits funds to supercede its rented quarters by an adequate building equipment. Meanwhile the site it owns and uses for public purposes has an attractive garden and many inviting features. Its residents are grappling at first hand with some of the evils infesting their very "foreign" neighborhood. The hard earned livelihood of the industrious and enterprising Sicilian fishermen, who chiefly inhabit the district is imperilled by the inseparable grasp of the liquor traffic on the food supply. Every grocery and market is a licensed saloon. The bartender deals out every quart of milk supplied by the stores. The head-resident read an interesting paper on "The Sicilian Fishermen of San Francisco Bay" at the recent Portland session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. A very democratic gathering greeted the writer at the People's Place. Labor leaders and church workers, neighbors and folks from many other parts of the city and walks of life

happily joined in the animated conversation which held nearly a hundred together for a whole evening.

The Oakland Settlement is said to be demonstrating its right to be and its room to work in that rapidly growing part of the greater city arising all around San Francisco Bay.

Los Angeles

"Castelar House," the first distinctively settlement movement to take root in Southern California, has flourished among its interesting Spanish California neighbors. They are so charmingly open and social in their nature, and love neighborly fellowship so well that they respond heartily to the settlement initiative. Wisely the residents let family fellowship and work with the people in their homes preponderate over the more institutionally organized efforts at the home-like settlement house. Through the one room dwellings, that with strange lack of civic sense are allowed to crowd by the hundreds into the rear of any lots, these residents went their neighborly way. Los Angeles could ill afford to lose their first hand knowledge of such conditions, or the study they are bestowing upon the solution of the serious housing problem rapidly confronting a city which has gathered as many lovely homes as are to be found together on earth. The co-operation of the city's district nurses, one of whom is a resident at the settlement, leads the way to some adequate measures to prevent over-crowding the land with people, which this enterprising city will surely find.

"Bronson House" is beautifully housed in an artistic new building which is suggestive of both a chapel and a cottage. The Catholic Women of the Old Mission parish are developing a social-religious work there, which is as homelike to its own people as it is broadly hospitable to others who were not born to its own heritage of worship and work. The charmingly frank and fraternal fellowship between those who thus differ and yet unite in social service is quite characteristic of this cluster of neighborhood centers.

The "Bethlehem Institutions" described in THE COMMONS for August as a "Socialized Mission" well fulfils that sphere and more. For not only are its mission features sturdily maintained, but farther reaching efforts into

philanthropic and civic spheres are as vigorously promoted. At the center the minister and his family have lived for ten years. Nearest about them they have gathered a men's lodging house and restaurant, which bid fair to pay the expenses of maintaining that center. A fine bath-house with swimming pool across the street initiates a type of civic improvement with which Los Angeles will be the surer to equip itself, because its need and profit have been demonstrated here. Evening schools for Japanese, Korean, Mexicans and Russians are highly appreciated by these nationalities which are crowding into this district rapidly. Political influence begins to center there. And plans to plant other such centers are already under way which should enlist the co-operation of public spirited people. No such home-atmosphere permeates any place for homeless men known to us. Enterprising and heroic is the self-support aimed at, with capital borrowed on "a four percent philanthropy" basis. But this policy is more adequate to meet maintenance expense than the cost of buildings and equipment. The "plant" should be furnished by the gifts of those who would invest something in civic equipment, which is sure to yield ample dividends in character values and a better city.

Opportunity was afforded to exchange settlement experiences East and West at a reception tended the writer by Bethlehem, Bronson House and Castellar House at the parish building of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles.

East Side House, New York

After a most successful summer, Camp Conant, as far as men and boys are concerned, has come to an end. The last party returned on Saturday, the 19th, browned, vigorous and enthusiastic, regretful only that the week must come so soon to an end. The Camp has been open to boys and men for six weeks, accommodating forty at a time, and there has been no week during the summer when it has been possible for us to take all who wished to go. The last two weeks have been given over to girls and women, a large party of whom are now in camp. It is not fair to our girls to oblige them to take the last two weeks, and next year we shall probably have made arrangements whereby any girl who wishes to leave town for a week at a time can be given an outing at her convenience.

Some of the letters the head worker has received from the little children who were on their outings have been very touching. What could be more pathetic than the thoughtfulness of others betokened in the yearning of this small tot to have the whole East Side transferred to the country. "Dear Mr. Kelley: We are enjoying ourselves in the Contry. We were out in the woods with Mrs. Kelley and Miss Frederick and we

would like to stay here a long time and we wished that you had the East Side here out in the Contry we have such fresh air and we have enough to eat."

Kingsley House, Pittsburg

We are glad to announce that work on the addition to Kingsley House has been started and that its completion is promised in time for the beginning of the regular winter work.

The outing work at "Lillian Home" has been very extensive, and up to an early date in August 96 adults and 650 boys and girls had been given a two weeks' outing at the Home, 11 adults and 81 boys and girls had enjoyed its privileges for one week, and the totals of the day picnics to its country air and surroundings amounted to 1,300. To entertain such large numbers has required considerable money, and up to the same date \$5,216 had been received. To carry out the plans for the rest of the summer \$1,500 was needed, and with it we could give a two weeks' vacation to two more parties of 150 each.

Chicago Commons

"Please may I go to the country?" or "Ain't there going to be another picnic?" are the two questions that suggest the approaching end of summer activities of the settlement. Already some nine hundred people have gone on day picnics with us to Kenosha, Edgewater and Evanston. This last picnic is the big one of the year. The Noyes Street Mothers' Club invite our neighborhood mothers to spend a day on the lakeside with their entire families. This year we have endeavored to give the picnic tickets to those people and their families who attended the clubs and classes during the winter, and in this way keep in touch with already established friendships and make the summer's work a continuation of the winter's relationships. About 300 of our boys and girls have had a two weeks' outing either in the country or at our own camp at Elgin. Permanent friendships are established between our children, whom the farmers entertain, and their hosts often resulting in the child's repeated visit the next year, sometimes the entire family being sent for the following summer. Letters are exchanged, Christmas presents and something of permanence comes into the lives of these boys and girls who are more accustomed to the shifting relationships resulting from an ever-moving tenement life.

The playground is as crowded as ever—for its size is the same—and there are constantly more children born to use it. At night until 9:30 it is fairly alive with children who swarm the place under the big new electric light (like bugs).

One day the children of Morgan street decided the street was not cleaned often enough, so the larger ones were organized

into a brigade. Shouldering brooms and shovels, fifteen strong, they marched to the corner where they proceeded to make dust fly to the next corner. Windows and doors were full of interested mothers, and when the block was finally swept and the sprinkling

company had "watered her down," the children hurraed and waved their brooms in self-approval, after which they refreshed themselves at the settlement, which one small Italian declared was the "best tirst parlor on de street."

Books

The Walking Delegate

By Leroy Scott. 372 pp. \$1.50. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

There is a powerful note of reality in this forceful story of labor union conditions that is refreshing after the rather tedious succession of "labor novels" to which we have been subjected during recent years.

The constant repetition of industrial and economic terms in the never ending present day discussion has almost seemed to spill out of them every drop of essence—of vital relation with the things for which they stand—and leave them empty symbols for our controversialists to juggle with. Attempts of our writers of fiction to refill them with the human values and life experience they represent have too frequently resulted in very travesties. The narrow confines of economic class or the small round of observation and individual experience that happens to have thrust itself upon the author has in many instances given us a story that simply affords a view from one little angle—if it is not blinded by personal prejudice—an account of events and development of characters that can in no wise be taken as typical even of a limited sphere of action in the great drama of life to be found in the labor movement. The avidity with which most of these authors have seized upon the worst there is in trade unionism and tried to make us swallow it as typical of it all, offsetting the villains, who are always trade unionists, and the villainy, which is always the result of sinister union machinations, with the pure and lofty nobility of purpose and the exemplary action that in every case characterizes the heroic non-unionist, would be amusing if it did not constitute a grievous slander on the honorable rank and file of organized labor. But this would be of small moment were it not for the fact that such novels are practically the only interpretation of the labor movement that comes to a considerable portion of the middle and so-called upper classes.

Over against a novel of this type, for example F. Hopkinson Smith's "Tom Grogan," published some years ago, Mr. Scott's story stands out with the realism that commands earnest attention. In the former every act and every character on the union side is responsible. The reader who takes the book as typical must condemn a whole class. In

the latter we find portrayed even more vividly the worst evils of the unions, but are shown the terrific struggle of the better men in them to free the movement from the scoundrels who would drag down its good name to gain their sordid personal ends. In "Tom Grogan" the author endows his heroic non-unionist with every good trait, including an indomitable self-reliance that overcomes all odds and thwarts the vile plots of the union, and further coaxes our sympathy by making it a struggle of one lone woman against a half-dozen burly men. The "scab" of Mr. Scott's narrative is a far truer type—yet of even more sterling qualities than is the average strike breaker according to the results of a personal investigation the author has recently made.

To one who has followed the revelations consequent upon the investigation of Chicago labor conditions the similarity between the state of affairs there laid bare and those outlined in "The Walking Delegate" is almost startling. There is the same alliance of smooth but unscrupulous business men, smirking under the mask of gentility, with the labor grafter, coarser but less hypocritical. The way in which the deals are worked in the story seems to mirror with great accuracy the actual happenings in Chicago.

Deserving of special mention is the description Mr. Scott gives us of the home life of Tom Keating, the high-minded young workman who undertakes to oust the corrupt element from his union. In his picture of the contrast between the nobler impulses of Tom and the taudry materialism of his wife, whom he had married in a moment of youthful fancy, we have the elements of a tragedy that drags out its weary years in the life of many a one of low economic station whose aspirations and efforts to rise to a high plane of altruism in devotion to the cause of his fellows are fettered by the small selfishness of the one who should share his nobler vision.

Perhaps one of the lessons best worth while discovering in the book—for it is not thrust upon you—is that of not judging too harshly the unionists who fail to purge their ranks of corruptionists. For we are given an idea of the tremendous power that such men can obtain and how great are the difficulties to be encountered in dislodging them. A labor grafter is even harder to down than the ward boss. And the man who disregards

and shirks his civic duties, thereby allowing the "enemies of the republic" to fasten their fangs in the body politic, has little right to throw stones at the glass house wherein dwells the unionist who fails to attend his union meeting and wage uncompromising war on the betrayers of the labor movement.

In style and action "The Walking Delegate" is vigorous, stirring and swift. Better than its tense excitement, however, is its genuineness and faithfulness to true conditions. It is a strong and much needed contribution to the literature of the day.

Thoughts of a Fool

By Evelyn Gladys. 258 pp. \$1.50. E. P. Rosenthal and Company, Chicago.

We dislike trading upon a bizarre title. We also dislike the pseudo-humility which, in two hundred and fifty pages, becomes something more distasteful than the franker forms of arrogance. We have taken this for a playful protest, a satirical criticism, a volume of applied economic humor. A critical hybrid of Carlyle and Lewis Carroll—perhaps even "Billy Baxter," were he alive, or the very living author of the surprising "John Henry" treatises sold at railroad stations and on most through trains—*might* have made acceptable humorous chapters under the heads of "Shoes, Pigs, and Problems," "Pressing his Trousers," "Buz-saws, Shortcake, and Rights," the "Fly and the Donkey," "Boiled Cabbage" or others of these suggestive titles which monopolize the "Thoughts of a Fool." A librettist for The Roger Brothers or Weber and Fields might also have done these titles justice but—we perhaps fail to appreciate economic humor.

All this is said to be done with it at first, because in spite of the unfortunate—almost calamitous—method of presenting her thoughts, the author has several good ones with a frequent felicity of expression, viz. "Every onward step from cannibalism, slavery, tyranny, injustice, was made, against the protest of church and state.

"Our truly great have become so only as they have taught us to laugh to scorn the magniloquent claims of authority.

"Every form of Magna Charta, in every age, was wrested from some unwilling king, who protested that it was his great love for us that resisted our demands."

There is a good deal more of this—also a large fund of material half-stated, half-true, unfortunate, demoralizing or better left unsaid.

The Recording Angel

By Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. A Novel. 287 pp. \$1.00. Charles H. Kerr and Co., 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago.

Although the whole aim of this book seems to be the conversion of the reader to the principles of socialism, there is much less of ranting or appeal to prejudice than in most of the other stories of this type. The author despite

the fact that he allows the freest sort of rein to his imagination, inclines to be fair. His characters among the employers are not exclusively devils. The greatly exaggerated stress of industrial conflict depicted, really obliges the author to present one old capitalist whose humanitarian impulses not only prevent him from going the hard lengths of the industrial czars of the story, but actually throw him back into the cause of the workers. And pains are taken to impress the reader that it is the system of industry that is entirely responsible for the oppressive attitude of those in power.

The author, however, lacks a delicate touch and the ability to so develop his narrative that the reader can see the intended lessons between the lines. They are hauled in rather cumbrously and forced upon the attention. But a more serious fault is the effect that the exaggeration of our present industrial tension may have on readers who lack discernment, and whose sympathies sometimes get the better of their heads. Granted that these present day evils are bad enough, there is nothing to be gained by anticipating a future in which they are enormously aggravated, and then so portraying that future that some will be led to believe we have already reached its baleful conditions.

Taken as a whole, "The Recording Angel" is readable, and the plot develops rapidly and strongly, despite its many and rather crude inconsistencies.

School for Social Workers

BOSTON

Director, **Jeffrey R. Brackett, Ph. D.**

Assistant, **Zilpha D. Smith**

**Maintained by Simmons College
and Harvard University**

For students of the practice of
charitable and other social work,
and workers, paid or voluntary.

Course of one academic year be-
gins October 3.

For circulars address

9 Hamilton Place.

